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PETROVSKIY ON 'NEW POLITICAL THINKING,' TEST BAN

LD080921 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 8 Oct 86

[Text] New York October 8 TASS -- The current situation provides a unique opportunity for a radical turnaround to ensure that the world becomes safer and more just for all nations, deputy minister for foreign affairs of the USSR Vladimir Petrovskiy said here. And here, the United Nations -- relying on its collective authority -- can make a substantive contribution to that end.

To begin with, there is now a real chance to start -- at long last -- the implementation of the understanding reached at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva last November. This chance is offered by the upcoming meeting in Reykjavik between the Soviet and U.S. leaders who could assess the situation first-hand and agree upon clear-cut guidelines to ensure progress in 2 or 3 disarmament questions, he pointed out at a press conference held here.

The Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions, the success of the Stockholm conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, the signing in Vienna of two conventions which laid the foundation for establishing an international regime of safe nuclear energy development, the progress in banning chemical weapons and the summit conference of non-aligned countries in Harare -- all these are not only real and positive developments, but also sprouts of the new political thinking and conduct of states in this complex nuclear and space age.

The essence of this new foreign policy philosophy of action consists in the fact that it recognizes as the main factor the diversity and integrity, the unity of opposites of the contemporary world and the community of destiny of all states and peoples, and points to concrete ways for the survival of mankind.

It can now be said that the new political thinking is beginning to take on tangible and practical dimensions. Stockholm, Vienna and Harare demonstrate convincingly first, that the central problem of today is security, above all in the military sphere; second, that compliance with existing agreements and negotiating new ones is the axiom of security; and, third, that safeguarding security is not the lot of the few elect but a matter that concerns each and every one, Soviet representative said.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is doing all it can to translate the new foreign policy thinking, it has adopted as a guide to action, into a language of practical policies. In so doing, it takes into account particularly the time factor. The rapid processes occurring in science and technology, which threaten to make impossible the achievement of verifiable agreements on disarmament, call for action, decisive and immediate action.

An example of the new thinking in practice is the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions. And, we are satisfied to note the support which the particular action enjoys here in the United Nations and we share the appeal launched from the U.N. rostrum for the United States to join in the moratorium.

What the peoples of the world expect from the USA now is that it will make a positive response to this appeal, rather than try to persuade us to go back to conducting explosions. The prohibition of nuclear weapons tests is a problem that is ripe for solution.

The soviet Union is ready at any time and anywhere, to sign a treaty on the total prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, Vladimir Petrovskiy stressed. We are ready to do so here at the United Nations, so that the entire world community could become part of this historic act which would open the way for ending the mad and senseless arms race, and rechanneling resources thus released to creative ends.

The Soviet Union reacted positively to the proposals of the states of five continents concerning verification of compliance with the obligation not to carry out nuclear explosions. We also positively view the recommendation of the Harare conference of the non-aligned movement.

Regarding the cessation of tests as a matter of highest priority, the Soviet Union at the same time is in favour of beginning in earnest large-scale reductions in nuclear weapon arsenals and preventing the introduction of weapons into outer space.

Seeking to ensure that the new foreign-policy thinking as soon as possible becomes part of the fabric of international relations, the Soviet Union, together with other socialist countries, has proposed that the question of building a comprehensive system of peace and security be discussed at the United Nations.

Instead of neo-globalism we offer global security, and instead of political permissiveness and adventurism -- responsibility and realism.

This proposal for a comprehensive security system is novel, above all, in that it raises the question of giving a new shape to the international relations, not just averting or removing the threat of war, but also creating reliable guarantees that would exclude the possibility of the emergence of such threat. The socialist countries' proposal is also novel in that it shifts the focus of the problem of ensuring security from military methods to political ones, which presuppose the broadest possible cooperation and interaction of all members of the international community. This proposal combines within a single whole all aspects of security -- military, political, economic, and humanitarian -- and is based on the premise that the comprehensive approach can ensure a guaranteed peaceful future. And, finally, the proposal is novel in that it involves equivalent security for all and the resolution of questions of national security.

We are convinced that the establishment of such a system is in the interest of all states and peoples.

We consider the United Nations to be both the main mechanism for building the system of global peace and security and the main guarantor of that security in a nuclear-free world.

Creativity has always been a distinctive feature of the United Nations. Today, as never before, it is important for the United Nations to support the sprouts of the new political thinking and behaviour of states which open the way for cooperation, and hallow them by its collective authority.

U.S. 'POLICY REASONS' FOR BREACHING SALT II CITED

LD071749 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 7 Oct 86

["U.S. Hastens To Breach SALT-2 Treaty" -- TASS item identifier]

[Text] New York October 7 TASS -- The U.S. Administration has been considering the question of equipping 131 strategic bombers B-52 with cruise missiles not in December as it had been planned earlier but this November 11, writes the newspaper "NEW YORK TIMES".

Referring to the administration's representatives, it points out that this decision leading to a breach of the SALT-2 treaty, will be "chosen for policy reasons". Earlier, the article says, the White House did not intend to take any concrete decision on this issue before the Soviet-U.S. summit. "It now appears, however, that the United States could exceed the treaty limits at any time of its choosing", since, according to the paper, such a move is regarded as a confirmation that "the administration is prepared to take a firm stand on important arms control issues".

"Conservative critics of the treaty have said they are worried," points out "THE NEW YORK TIMES", "that if American-Soviet relations improve, the administration will change its mind about dropping the 1979 treaty." For instance, in a letter sent to President Reagan, Senators James A. McClure and Ernest F. Hollings "expressed concern about a possible delay in exceeding treaty limits".

However, in the USA there are politicians who display sober-minded approach to control over armaments and relations with the Soviet Union. Some government specialists point out, the article says, that a breach of the SALT-2 treaty will lead to more strained relations between the two countries. Congressional supporters of the treaty have sought to block the administration from breaching it and "maintain that the treaty is in the American political and military interest". For instance, "THE NEW YORK TIMES" reminds its readers, that the House of Representatives has adopted legislation requiring the administration to stay within the treaty limits.

NUCLEAR-SPACE WEAPONS TALKS CONTINUE IN GENEVA

Strategic Weapons Session 1 Oct

LD011411 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1349 GMT 1 Oct 86

[Text] Geneva, 1 Oct (TASS) -- A session of the group for strategic weapons was held here today in the framework of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons.

Medium-Range Arms Session 2 Oct

LD021251 Moscow TASS in English 1233 GMT 2 Oct 86

[Text] Geneva, October 2 TASS -- The group on medium-range nuclear armaments met in session here today within the framework of Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons.

EAST BLOC JOURNAL EDITORS MEET IN MOSCOW

PM071423 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting of Party Journalists"]

[Text] The chief editors of the mass agitation journals of the central committees of the BCP, the MSZMP, the Communist Party of Vietnam, the SED, the Communist Party of Cuba, the MPRP, the PZPR, the RCP, the CPSU, and the CPCZ met in Moscow 30 September through 2 October at the suggestion of the journal AGITATOR. The participants in the meeting exchanged experience of propagandizing decisions of the fraternal parties' congresses and discussed urgent problems of further expanding cooperation in the sphere of mass agitation and propaganda work, which is centered on the working person's vital interests and the struggle for lasting peace and international security. The meeting was addressed by Yu. A. Sklyarov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Section. Talks were held at Moscow CPSU Obkom. The guests visited Zvezdnyy Gorodok.

The fraternal countries' party journalists were received by V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

PACT FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET IN BUCHAREST

LD061802 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT 6 Oct 86

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS -- In accordance with an understanding reached, a regular session of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states is to be held in Bucharest in the second half of October 1986.

PROGRAM EXAMINES WORLD MEDIA OBJECTIVITY

LD051753 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1955 GMT 4 Oct 86

["The Road to Trust: The Role of the Mass Media in Internatinal Cooperation" program presented by political observer Vladimir Vladimirovich Pozner with Vladimir Borisovich Lomeyko, ambassador at large; Gerd Ruge, executive president of the Allerdinck Foundation; (Rene Ayberson), chief editor of Netherlands televison company NCRV; Georges Bortoli, political observer of French television company Antenne-2; Gyorgy Balo, Hungarian television correspondent; and Nikolay Ivanovich Yefimov, first deputy editor-in-chief of IZVESTIYA -- Pozner, Lomeyko, Yefimov speaking in Russian; Ruge, (Ayberson), Balo speaking in English with superimposed Russian translation; Bortoli speaking in French with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [announcer] Dear comrades, we now present for you the program: "The Road to Trust: The Role of the Mass Media in International Cooperation." It has been made on the initiative of the Allerdinck Foundation, the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. The presenter is political observer Vladimir Vladimirovich Pozner. [video shows Pozner and six other men seated round round table in studio. The camera focuses on each as he is introduced and each time he speaks. Each has a nameplate in front of him.]

[Pozner] Hello. Before beginning our conversation -- or maybe discussion -- regarding the role of the mass media in creating mutual understanding, I should like to introduce all those present. I shall move in this direction [video shows Pozner gesturing to his right, in a counterclockwise motion]: Vladimir Borisovich Lomeyko, ambassasdor at large; Gerd Ruge, excutive president of the Allerdinck Foundation -- incidentally, he has also been a West German television correspondent in Moscow, in Beijing and in Washington and so he is a man of great experience; (Rene Ayberson) from the Netherlands, chief editor of NCRV; next is Georges Bortoli, political observer of the French television company Antenne-2; Gyorgy Balo, Hungarian television correspondent; and Nikolay Ivanovich Yefimov, first deputy editor-in-chief of IZVESTIYA.

Well, to start with, I should like to offer you some data. I should like to bring to your attention several public opinion polls which have been conducted in various countries, specifically in France, Britain, Italy and the FRG. From these it emerges that in those countries some 75 or 80 percent of the population consider the Soviet Union to be the country which will be the first to use force for its political purposes, the country which more than any other makes use of disinformation to attain its political goals.

Another poll -- the Roper Service in the United States -- has shown that 44 percent of Americans suppose that the Soviet Union even fought in World War II, and 28 percent suppose that it fought on the side of fascist Germany. A poll of schoolchildren in Japan showed that 40 percent of Japanese schoolchildren assume that it was the Soviet Union which dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima. And in France 70 percent of schoolchildren assume it was the Soviet Union which bombed Hiroshima.

In other words, what we are talking about are notions that have quite obviously arisen as a consequence of some kind of feeling or idea about another country,

I could say that if one looks at the Soviet mass media there is here a certain inclination to favor portraying negative phenomena in the Western world, albeit they are true. Even so, if one portrays only, or mainly, that which is negative, then this too give rise to a picture which is not wholly objective. So, in the light of all of this, the role of the mass media, I should like us to talk about the subject of the responsibility of the mass media, the responsibility of the journalist; and can anything be made of this in the end? So, who would like to go first? Let us be fully democratic about this; otherwise you will force me to choose someone. Well, Mr Ruge?

[Ruge] Yes, of course there are possibilities for correcting the situation. On the one hand journalists should maintain closer contact among themselves; and access to sources of information needs to be expanded. Understanding of their counterparts and of their experience is needed too. I feel that all of this would undoubtedly help to correct wrong ideas and failures of understanding. And in fact it is precisely this which the Allerdinck Foundation strives for when it brings together representatives of East and West to discuss mass media issues and their contribution to mutual understanding. It seems that this is possible, though it will be difficult.

[(Ayberson)] I should like to add something. Undoubtedly, it is a very bad thing that so many people have such wrong ideas. As far as the Netherlands is concerned, I can state that the situation here is rather different. If we take the example of who fought on which side, in the Netherlands public opinion, I would say, has a more subtle perception and more subtle understanding: it realizes that there are two superpowers trying to outstrip one another in the arms race. I think that in the Netherlands our understanding is rather more complex; and public opinion is led by the newspapers. Of course, we are not idealistic. We speak critically. We criticize the arms race. We want to halt the arms race. We want to find ways of halting the arms race. It seems to me that there are great tasks confronting the press: On the one hand to build bridges between people who do not want to be enemies. We should stress that there are certain stereotypes in children's perceptions.

[Pozner] Have I understood you correctly if I say that you believe that the mass media in your country are marked by a certain objectivity in their depiction of our country, the Soviet Union, and that the Netherlands people do not hold prejudices, so to speak, in relation to the Soviet Union. If that is the case then I welcome it very much, but are you quite sure of it?

[(Ayberson)] Yes, I think so, and for two reasons. First, we have neighbors like Norway and Denmark -- small countries having little reason just to talk about ourselves. So what are we to talk about, especially in the superpower context? And second, we have a great fear of nuclear war. It is for this reason that our public wants the banning of the neutron bomb; it is very active in this. We, more than any other country in Europe, demanded a halt to the stationing of Pershing and other missiles in our territory.

[Pozner] Thank you. Now you.

[Lomeyko] I should like to add something on this subject. I have had the occasion to visit the Netherlands several times in recent years. In part, I agree that the people in the Netherlands know the Soviet Union better than do the Americans, let's say. Their perception is more differentiated.

But it is interesting to notice that even here, when Mr (Ayberson) was speaking, he used phrases like "the two superpowers," "we have a great fear" and "they are trying to outstrip one another." It seems to me that indeed we are all living in a world of sterotypes, but as people involved in the mass media we play a part both in creating these and in destroying them. For instance, one of the main tasks we have discussed at Allerdinck Foundation meetings has to do with how, between us, to find ways of making the mass media serve mutual understanding between people, not drive them apart; in other words, make the media promote trust and thereby greater security and hence a more lasting peace. It seems to me that at the current time the media have a special role to play in the following way: Can the mass media facilitate a new way of thinking taking root in this nuclear age, something about which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has repeatedly spoken and something which in its essence is needed by us all in order that all might survive?

As for the theory of the two superpowers, it seems to me that there is an attempt by some West European states to try to sidestep the issue because they find it uncomfortable to adopt a position in favor of the Soviet Union while they are members of NATO; yet at the same time they often disagree with the American position. I know, for example, that in the Netherlands they support the idea of the Soviet moratorium and that they agree with our proposals to remove medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe and with a whole number of other things. I think that for a responsible political journalist it is very important to be able to speak the truth without offending one's allies. We are not in favor of driving a wedge between Western Europe and America -- which is something that people like to depict as our official policy, so to speak, or as our intention. That is too primitive a notion about Soviet policy. What we want is to search, together with Western Europe, the United States and other countries, for paths leading to more lasting peace, and here the question as to who initiates and who is continuing the arms race is a very important one, because otherwise we will be avoiding the acute problems.

[Pozner] You know, you used the words, responsible political journalists, and I would like to ask everyone this question, which may perhaps be a rather paradoxical one. A doctor, a surgeon, does an operation on someone, but if he doesn't operate the way he should, he may kill him. There are various ways of saying what this is, and one of them is that he's simply in the wrong job, and this doctor is prevented from practicing in the future. A journalist, whether we want it or not, he -- well, how shall I put it -- he digs around in people's brains and influences the way people think, and he can do a great deal of damage when he, either deliberately, or for his own personal interests or for some other reason, uses information to influence people in a certain way and chiefly, so to speak, in a wrong way. Do you not think that this is also a violation of one's ethical code, so to speak, and that the question could also be asked as to whether he is in the wrong job -- precisely in the light of what Vladimir Borisovich was talking about?

[Yefimov] You mentioned, or rather you gave the example of, a doctor. Doctors have their hippocratic oath, they have a code of behavior. The military have courts of honor. There should be something similar, in my view, for journalists, perhaps even some sort of international code of rules. Why? Because a journalist should act according to some sort of rules. We people in the East and the West are different: We are building different societies and we have different ideologies. That's probably why we find each other of interest; if we were the same, it's unlikely that we would find each other interesting. And when journalists visit one another they play a very important and responsible role: they can promote mutual understanding and interest in one another, respect for each other -- or to the contrary, they can disunite people.

I think that the time is coming to solve this question -- or perhaps it is even long overdue. I think that we should formulate some sort of rules -- and it would perhaps be very useful it the Allerdinck Foundation could be involved in this -- for journalists belonging to the different systems.

First of all I think that a journalist should have a main aim in his mind: What does he want: To disunite peoples or bring them closer together? What is it that he wants to further? That's the first thing.

Second, any journalist who travels to another country should present and study the history of its people, their culture, their traditions and cultural wealth. There is no such thing as a lesser nation or a large nation, or a nation which is great or not great: All nations are interesting, whatever area of land they occupy. If a journalist respects this, it will make his work more successful.

Finally, a journalist must know the language of the country where he is working: If he doesn't, he simply can't operate. I'll give you an example. About 10 years ago I had a conversation with the then correspondent of the LOS ANGELES TIMES who was, I think, called Mr Toth. I asked him what was the last dispatch that he had sent to Los Angeles, and he replied that it was a review of a new novel by the now late Trifonov called "The House on the Embankment." I asked him: But how could you write a review if you neither speak nor read Russian? Nevertheless he wrote it.

When a journalist has in his mind a noble chief aim, when he knows and respects the culture of the other nation, and when he can easily and freely communicate with the people, then he can write books which give pleasure to readers and to him personally and which really do contribute something of value. I will give as an example two books which many of our viewers probably know: "The Sakura Branch" by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov of PRAVDA, And "Britain in the 1960's" by the late Vladimir Osipov of IZVESTIYA. Both books were written with enormous love for the Japanese and British people and with enormous respect for those countries, although they are also critical.

[Ruge] I completely agree that journalists should be educated people and should know what the truth is. But often we don't know what the truth is, it is not clear. Journalists should be inquisitive, inquisite in a friendly way; they should try to find out the news and report it. There's something else, too. One of the guarantees on our country is a certain degree of truthfulness: There are newspaper which give opposing opinions, and the public has to decide what is right and what is not. So the journalists must have consciousness and awareness.

[Bortoli] I just wanted to add that the knowledge by one people about another does not boil down to political facts or a political analysis, however profound that knowledge may be. You said that a considerable number of Japanese schoolchildren think that the Soviet Union bombed Hiroshima. But I am sure that not a single Japanese newspaper wrote anything of the sort. Those Japanese had obviously been reading the sports page, and not the political page.

The improvement of East-West relations is not only a matter of political analysis that I try to engage in. I have to humbly confess that when I return home from Moscow, they don't ask me about the SS-20 and Pershing missiles; they ask me what the Soviet people are like, what life is like there and whether they are happy. Those are the questions that people wonder about.

In my country, where television is the predominant media, that is the most important thing. I think it is extremely important for us television people to try and provide as many reports as possible about Soviet people, their joys, their worries, their virtues and their shortcomings, so that the curtain of mystery that still exists between us will disappear. We talk about trust, and we welcome the measures in Stockholm to strengthen trust, but we can promote trust both by means of political analysis and also by a means that is more easy to understand -- by depicting another country on television.

[Pozner, chuckling] Gyorgy Balo, you haven't yet said anything, as a representative of apparently the smallest and most mysterious people, although, as we have heard, all nations are great! Anyway, what do you think?

[Balo] I would like to say that, with every respect for public opinion polls, if polls were held in those countries about their own press, the replies would not be so positive. So when there is mention of the 70 or 80 percent who don't like the Soviet Union, I think that if they were asked about their own politicians they would have something else to say. Second, the peoples of both the East and the West must understand the fact that the structure of the mass media in East and West is different, very different. The roles they play are perhaps the same, but often money plays a part, and unfortunately we live at a time when bad news is far easier to sell than good news. So this is one of the important elements in improving East-West relations: A new view of things, a timely and correct view. It is better to take a risk and report bad news than to say something unworthy in a report. Maybe that's a point to consider.

[Ruge] Yes, of course. But if there's a train crash, it has to be reported, doesn't it? Of course it does, both in the Easte and in the West, in both systems.

[Balo] But the question is how much time do you devote to it? You can show 1 minute, 2 minutes, 3 minutes.

[Pozner] If you will permit me -- I shall let you speak in a moment -- but I can't refrain from recalling a conversation I had with a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent who said that: We in America talk about aircraft that crash at Kennedy airport, not aircraft that land." I said to him: But in America people know that at Kennedy airport aircraft usually land normally; but when you write about an airport called Sheremetyevo or Domodedovo, somewhere very far away, and you fail to write about the aircraft which land normally, your American reader gets the impression that over there in Domodedovo the planes mainly crash." The whole point is to say what happens in reality.

Without doubt, there are no saints and no innocents in this matter. That is without question the case. But I should like to ask you something, Mr Bortoli. When you say that the young Japanese couldn't read anywhere that the Soviet Union dropped an atom bomb on Hiroshima and that their reaction can evidently be explained by the fact that they read the sports pages and not the political news, this sounds amusing, but I don't think it's relevant. The point seems to me to be that when someone doesn't know the answer for one reason or another, he starts to seek it in what he knows in general. My question is why the young Japanese, without knowing the answer, automatically decided that the Soviet Union dropped the bomb? Why is it that, not knowing for sure what side the Soviet Union fought on, the Americans decided it must have been on the German side? It is because the overall background information which they receive about the Soviet Union is negative -- and so they automatically reach this conclusion. Naturally, you can't find it in writing anywhere. So don't you think that the news media play a role in this?

[Bortoli] Forgive me, but I's afraid we are stating the obvious. It is clear that our past was marked by decades of difficult relations, and that people have formed certain mental stereotypes. You can't do anything about that. We must hope that this will change. That is indeed why we came here. A journalist has his function, which consists in talking about shortcomings: Trains which arrive late, aircraft which crash -- this sort of thing happens, and you have to talk about it to rectify matters. It is not an idle undertaking. Our role is to complain. We force officials, ours and yours, to provide answers. That is why we should not be condemned if we sometimes come across as aggressive. We are not aggressive for the fun of it, and, anyway, what sort of fun is it? Our aggressive attitude is designed to obtain a clear answer instead of the woolly answer we sometimes get.

[Pozner] I don't think that... Yes? Go ahead?

[(Ayberson)] I think that the figures that you mentioned, 70 to 80 percent, and so on, are very bad figures. But on the other hand it seems to me you musn't blame the journalists for them. They do everything that they can. It all depends on the educational system in different countries, what is taught in schools. So journalist shouldn't be blamed for everything, and, in any event, one must admit that journalists have the task of rectifying things that are wrong with society, deriding the ridiculous, and criticizing (?what needs to be criticized). This is undoubtedly the journalist's task.

[Pozner] Gyorgy Balo, over to you.

[Balo] I would like to say that we journalists, all journalists, are equally to blame for the fact that fear is being created in the world. I can also cite opinion polls. In Harvard, Harvard University conducted soundings in the United States, the USSR, and Britain among American, British and Soviet children, asking them what they are most afraid of. Fear is being created, it is.

[Pozner] This poll was conducted jointly here with the Institute of the USA and Canada. I know that for a fact.

[Yefimov] I'd like to argue with Gyorgy over his claim that both sides are to blame for the creation of fear. Fear undoubtedly exists, but I cannot agree that both sides are equally to blame, and this is why. When Rene said that it was not just a question of journalism and that a very great deal depended on the educational system, he was quite right.

Let me give you an example. In 1974 I was in Spokane in the United States at the enormous Whitworth College, which trains teachers. It has around 3,000 students. I asked to be shown the college library. It was a fine library. In our country we do not have such a well put-together and technically-equipped library. I asked to be shown the books of Soviet authors. There was just one for the whole college. It was a book by some dissident, and that's all there was. There are 3,000 students studying there, they then go and teach children up and down the country, but they have no idea. The surprising thing, moreover, was not just the absence of Soviet Literature, but also of Dostoevsky, of Chekhov. This struck me even more. So it seems to me debatable whether we are equally responsible.

Let me cite the following staggering example. Our educational system and our press, despite its errors or inaccuracies -- for these do occur -- our educational system as a whole does not educate furture citizens in a spirit of claiming that people abroad are necessarily enemies.

By way of example, take the start of the war. Before the last war we educated the population in a spirit of believing that abroad lived their class brothers, that the majority of mankind was made up of people like us, people like us, not counting the military-industrial complexes. We paid for this in the first few months of the war when people educated in this spirit suddenly met with quite the reverse. But we do not regret that we educated people in that spirit. We continue to educate them in this spirit.

[Pozner] I'm very glad that both Nikolay Ivanovich and Rene (Ayberson) have absolved journalists of full responsibility for what is happening. There are real journalists here, after all, you can sense that. Mr Ruge, perhaps to conclude you could tell us how you believe the Allerdinck foundation in which you are involved can, perhaps through example, or something else, help us to get where we want to get to -- objective reporting. No one quarrels with the assertion that you definitely have to talk about negative phenomena because they are part of all phenomena. But you musn't just talk about negative phenomena, let alone things which are not true. What do you say to that?

[Ruge] It seems to me we have to get as close to the fact as possible. It seems to me that we do not have any real conflicts, so to speak, created by the news media, but the news media (?can create) a climate of fear or something else. We must strive to create a climate of better mutual understanding and make our negotiations more realistic: our people are in favor of this. That is why the Allerdinck foundation tries to establish more contacts between West and East. Allerdinck Foundation generates new ideas for an exchange of programs, for an exchange of films, and has plans for joint production and tries to show the perceptions of problems in America, the USA [as heard], the Soviet Union and other countries. At all events, we strive to attain the goal of mutual understanding, and understanding of individual events, and this will be a step forward. This is one of our goals.

[Pozner] Thank you very much. With that let me close our program, in the overall hope that the news media will indeed do much more for mutual understanding and not to divide and cause them to be hostile toward, and fearful of, one another.

VOSS DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR IPU MEETINGS

PM021413 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Oct 86 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Departure From Moscow"]

[Text] A USSR Parliamentary Group delegation headed by A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities and deputy chairman of the USSR Parliamentary Group, left Moscow for Buenos Aires 1 October to take part in the Interparliamentary Conference and sessions of the other organs of the IPU. The delegation comprises Deputies Yu. A. Izrael, V.V. Karpov, V.A. Lebedeva, and V.S. Stepanov.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by L.N. Tolkunov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and chairman of the USSR Parliamentary Group; T.N. Bokareva, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy; and other officials.

SHULTZ GIVES U.S. VIEW OF REYKJAVIK PARAMETERS

LD071857 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 7 Oct 86

[Text] Washington October 7 TASS -- U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz promised at a press conference of the Worldnet T.V. network today that at the Reykajavik meeting the United States would be looking for "a kind of discussion that would give an impulse to the Soviet negotiators and our negotiators in one form or another where we are dealing with each other to try to move things in a positive direction." Touching on the SALT-2 treaty, Shultz made it clear, however, that "the situation is, basically, as it was at the time the President made his statement about the SALT-2 limits." In the view of the U.S. secretary of state, "it will be possible at Reykjavik to make some progress on INF."

V. AFANASYEV DISCUSSES TASKS, HOPES FOR PARLEY

PM071854 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 86 First Edition p 4

[V. Afanasyev article: "Hopes and Alarms"]

[Text] The world greeted with hope the joint Soviet-American statement published in the press 1 October. this is what it says:

"Concerning the forthcoming meeting of M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan.

"In accordance with an understanding which has been reached, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan will meet 11-12 October 1986 in the city of Reykjavik (Iceland). The proposal for this meeting was made by M.S. Gorbachev and accepted by R. Reagan. The meeting will be held in the context of the preparation for a visit to the United States by M.S. Gorbachev upon which the sides had agreed in Geneva in November 1985...."

I do not know all the subtleties and conditions as a result of which this statement appeared. But I can and must say most definitely that it is above all the result of the unshakable will, maximum persistence, and devotion to the cause of peace and disarmament of CPSU Central Committe General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev; of our whole party, and of our state.

The CPSU Central Commitee general secretary's initiative is politically bold and farsighted. It is an important link in the chain of major Soviet foreign policy initiatives taken of late. It is moreover a question not of verbal appeals and not of "propaganda," as these initiatives are frequently dubbed in the West, but of serious, practical deeds to straighten out Soviet-American relations and the situation in the world.

One cannot fail to note that the understanding about the Reykjavik meeting was the result of the Soviet side, but also of the U.S. side. It was very, very difficult to reach agreement. E. Shevardnadze and G. Shultz needed 25 (!) hours to come to an arrangement.

In politics -- that most complex sphere of human activity -- it is extraordinarily important to see the chief guidelines, tasks, and objectives. But the chief task now is to end the arms race on earth and prevent it in space, and to normalize relations between the USSR and the United States. [paragraph continues]

This can be achieved only by the organization of a summit meeting. That is the chief result of the negotiations by the ministers of the two great countries.

Reykjavik will be an examination of historical maturity which has fallen to the lot of the leaders of the USSR and the United States, an examination which has fallen to their lot through the imperative of our uneasy, alarming, and dangerous times.

The Soviet Union has prepared well for this examination. It is going to it without secret thoughts of gaining top grades for a mediocre answer. Universal, eternal peace, a world without nuclear weapons, without other means of monstrous destruction directed against the material and spiritual values that have been accumulated over thousands of years by mankind, and without the means of the mass, unprecedented destruction of hundreds and hundreds of millions of thinking beings -- people: Such is our Soviet answer to this rigorous examination.

The meeting in Reykjavik is not a substitute for M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States agreed upon earlier in Geneva. The CPSU Central Committee general secretary will visit the United States according to a schedule which can be agreed between him and President Reagan.

The present meeting is, so to speak, a working meeting at which it is proposed that the situation be directly evaluated and precise instructions and directives be agreed, aimed at ensuring sufficient progress on certain questions of nuclear arms to achieve results of substantial significance.

It is by no means rules out that questions of bilateral Soviet-American relations will be discussed at the meeting, or questions connected with regional conflicts and all the other problems which are of mutual interest.

I do not hide the fact that for me, an extremely well-informed person, the announcement of the forthcoming meeting was in a certain sense a surprise. A pleasant surprise. Indeed, just recently, through no fault of ours, extremely tense relations have developed between the USSR and the United States. Those in and around the White House who oppose an improvement of Soviet-American relations have done much to ensure that these relations deteriorate and become exacerbated in the extreme, and also to frustrate a summit meeting on which the two leaders had reached agreement in Geneva. An example of this was the quite mundane "Daniloff affair" which was blown up across the ocean virtually to the scale of an international catastrophe. (Incidentally, for several years the USSR Journalists Union has maintained businesslike and, I would say, in some places friendly relations with U.S. colleagues. Several meetings have been held here in our country and across the ocean. This year we Soviet journalists were not admitted to the United States.)

And so, in this tense situation, agreement has been reached on a meeting of the leaders of the two countries in Reykjavik, which was a pleasant surprise.

Yet was this understanding that was reached so much of a surprise? After all, the processes taking place in our contradictory world are by no means only negative. There are also positive processes working in favor of peace and mankind's progress. These include the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions, the success of the Stockholm conference, and the signing in Vienna of conventions on the safe development of the nuclear power industry. [paragraph continues]

Progress in the matter of banning chemical weapons and the documents of the conference of the heads of nonaligned countries in Harare. A search has begun for ways to strengthen security in Asia and the Pacific Ocean region. Fresh approaches have appeared for settling regional conflict situations There is increased awareness of the importance of strengthening international cooperation in economic and humanitarian spheres.

Such are the prccesses which inspire hope for a radiant future for our planet.

The meeting in Reykjavik ahs become possible above all because the Soviet people, the American people, and the peoples of the whole world want peace, aware that thermonuclear war, should it break out, will lead to the death of human civilization. Even in the U.S. Congress peace-loving melodies have been ringing out more and more clearly of late. The House of Representatives voted for a limited reduction of nuclear tests, for instance. The Congress, albeit not very appreciably, trimmed the White House's request concerning appropriations for military purposes, including those for the favorite brainchild of the President -- the SDI program, which the world public is calling the "star wars" program. The peace movement is gaining more and more strength in the United States. Dozens of American cities, including such a giant as Chicago, have declared themselves nuclear-free zones. And so forth.

All these are the political, or to be more precise, the human, reasons for the agreement on the Reykjavik meeting. But there is yet another very important reason, an economic one. The assessments by transatlantic forecasters from among the "hawks" to the effect that the United States" unprecedented military spending over the last 6 years would damage the Soviet economy without any detriment to the U.S. economy have proved to be profoundly erroneous. This colossus of the West (we are talking about the United States) has found these inordinate military expenditures beyond its strength. Graphic evidence of this is seen in the unprecendented budget deficit and the astronomical national debt.

Of course the economic aspect of the problem is extremely important for the USSR, too. Ou country is building, creating, and implementing an ambitious and truly revolutionary program to reach the most advanced scientific, technical, and cultural levels in the world. Money, lots of money, is needed to implement this program. But the need to spend big money on defense, in order not to lag behind the United States in this field, and to preserve the military-strategic balance that hs come reduces our potential in peaceful construction.

In the purely human and also in the political and economic sense we are in favor of disarmament and the ending of preparations for a nuclear war which would reduce absolutely everything to ashes.

I think that the Reykjavik meeting is designed to promote the implementation of last year's accords at Geneva, accords that pace militarization would not be permitted and that stocks of nuclear weapons on earth would be reduced.

Great hopes are pinned on Reykjavik. But alarm, concern, and uneasiness are perhaps just as great. After all, in the main avenues of world politics, and above all in those which concern nuclear weapons, there has been no progress despite the fact that talks have been conducted not only at the level of experts, but also at the level of foreign ministers and at other levels. The White House does not intend to abandon the "star wars" program and is setting a course toward undermining the SALT I, SALT II, and ABM treaties and is not about to end nuclear tests.

Moreover, according to plans of the U.S. Department of Energy, the appropriations alloted for conducting nuclear explosions for military purposes are scheduled to be increased by 60 percent in the period between fiscal 1987 which began 1 October, and fiscal 1991. The money for preparing and carrying out nuclear tests will grow from $500 million planned in the budget for the current fiscal year, to $850 million in 5 years' time.

What will the U.S. President bring to Reykjavik?

There are many disturbing reports on this score. Thus, the British SUNDAY TELEGRAPH recently reported that "advisers and experts in Washington are laboring around the clock to leave the minimum time on the agenda of the Reykjavik meeting for a free exchange of opinions between the leaders of the two states. They do not want President Reagan to immediately embark on direct talks."

THE OBSERVER, citing an informed individual in Washington, reported that the Americans' aim in Reykjavik is very moderate indeed -- "to determine a date for a future full-scale summit meeting which will take place in the United States."

So, the Reykjavik meeting is not a "full-scale" meeting? We do not agree. This meeting can, and must yield positive results and above all in the field of limiting nuclear arms.

Mankind hopes that in cold Reykjavik the ice of the "cold war" will begin to melt and relations between the USSR and the United States, and internatonal relations as a whole, will grow warmer.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA ANSWERS READER'S DOUBTS ON TALKS

PM071221 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Oct 86 First Edition p 3

[Mikhail Ozerov article under the rubric "Opinions and Doubts": "Can We Expect Successes?"]

[Text] Reader's question. Yesterday our newspaper's international department received a telephone call. "My name is Lyubov Maksimovna Slobodskikh, and I am an engineer,"d the caller introduced herself. "The issue of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA which announces the Reykjavik meeting also carries a quite different report -- that the United States has carried out another nuclear explosion and a new test of the ASAT antisatellite system. That is, it is going to the meeting while continuing to arm. It is really possible, after this, to expect any successes in Iceland? Is this meeting at all necessary, and was it worth striving for it?"

Publicist's answer:

The woman on the other end of the line spoke categorically. Well, I can understand her to some extent. You really should not set out for peace talks with not just a stone but a cudgel up your sleeve, and a nuclear cudgel at that. Particularly when the other partner is calling for that cudgel to be thrown out.

And yet, I certainly cannot agree with L.M. Slobodskikh's viewpoint.

To follow her logic, we should act according to the principle "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." The Americans have exploded a bomb? Let us explode one, too. They are testing a new weapon? Let us do the same....

This is the logic of fisticuffs, and certainly not of a policy which accords with the demands of the times. Particularly not in our nuclear age. This path is not just dangerous but catastrophic.

And we are going to Reykjavik precisely because we do not want this very "eye for an eye."

Now about something else. I gained the impression from the conversation with our reader that she believes that the Soviet Union "pressured" the United States, and the latter agreed to come to Iceland.

That is wrong. Nobody pressured anybody. /BOTH SIDES/ [capitalized words between slantlines printed in boldface] displayed a constructive, businesslike approach, for both we and the United States need the meeting. And this is acknowledged by the American leaders. Thus, Secretary of State G. Shultz called the upcoming talks "a very good idea" and remarked that they must "give a special boost."

A boost to what? In fact, Lyubov Maksimovna also put this question during our telephone conversation.

Let us try to get to the bottom of the matter.

I remember how dank the weather was in Geneva in the second half of November last year. But then it began to "grow warm" literally before our eyes, insofar as there was increased hope that enmity would at last be cast aside and relations be improved. And after the end of the summit meeting it seemed to all of us journalists who had gone there that it was warm and almost sunny in Geneva.

As we know, a "cooling" then followed. Washington very much wanted to become stronger than our country militarily, and to that end it was ready to derail the Geneva accords.

However, people on the other side of the ocean have not managed to bury the "Geneva spirit" completely, and so it is simply essential to develop it by meeting once again and discussing urgent matters. And this must be done very urgently, otherwise international security could find itself beyond the point where the situation could still be rectified. I am sure that a tete-a-tete conversation will help to evaluate the situation and to agree clear missions for progress in the nuclear disarmament sphere.

This is very important. Our chief task is to learn to live together. This is a very urgent task, for the already tight knot of nuclear arms is being pulled tighter and tighter. Perhaps it can be loosened in Reykjavik?

I will remind you once again of what E.A. Shevardnadze said in New York: "The world will be in a constant fever if the temperature of Soviet-American affairs stays for long at a critically dangerous high level." Of course, the participants in the meeting will strive to lower that temperature; at least, the Soviet leadership declares this firmly and definitely.

Hope for progress in various spheres as a result of the Reykjavik meeting is now being expressed everywhere, and L.M. Slobodskikh undoubtedly knows this. I will cite just one of the many commentaries -- by E. Bahr, a prominent figure in West Germany's Social Democratic Party of Germany. [paragraph continues]

He said: This is a historic opportunity for the policy of detente. I have met with Bahr repeatedly, and I know him to be a sober and even cautious politician, but such a optimistic statement!

Of course, such a "historic opportunity" is of no use to some people. No use at all. Again I will not cite various sources, for there are more than enough of them -- DEUTSCHE WELLE, LE FIGARO, THE DAILY MAIL, dozens of statements by high-ranking figures in the Old and the New World, and so forth -- and I will mention just one statement. It was made by a no less experienced and knowledgeable politician than Bahr, and yet this politician reacted quite differently -- he called the meeting "incomprehensible and very dangerous."

How is it incomprehensible? Let us leave this judgment on Henry Kissinger' conscience, for it was he who spoke these words. But the former secretary of state is probably right about the "danger." The Reykjavik meeting really is dangerous. It is dangerous to those who, sensing the possibility of a thaw, have recently been "tightening the screws" in our relations with all their might. The "Zakharov affair...." The superballyhoo over Daniloff.... The demand that staffers of the USSR UN Mission leave.... All possible slander against our country....

The Rejkjavik meeting, I repeat, is dangerous for anti-Soviets. But it can benefit the cause of peace. At least, we very much hope.

THIRD WORLD EXPECTATIONS, U.S. STANCE NOTED

LD080254 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1955 GMT 7 Oct 86

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Text] In discussing the forthcoming high-level meeting in Reykjavik, we observers most frequently quote statements, forecasts, speculations, and opinions of politicians and public figures from the United States and countries of the European Continent. And less frequentiy -- that's how it is -- reactions from Asian, African, and Latin American states. While over there, they, too, are waiting for the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. They, too, are waiting for new, reassuring news about peace, detente, and disarmament; about mankind's deliverance from dangerous weapons.

In many developing countries, economic and social problems are aggravated to the limit. In order to resolve them, assistance is required -- economic, financial, scientific assistance. The fewer weapons the industrial countries make, the more substantial the assistance that they can render. That's an axiom. Indeed, if one just thinks how many resources and how much human effort go into weapons production! And at the same time, 600 million people in the world are hungry; hundreds of millions suffer from diseases. The world has so many unemployed, homeless, illiterate. And on top of that, destructive elements constantly make themselves felt in many different areas. Earthquakes, droughts, hurricanes, floods. We have to try and harness them, and perforce render their victims urgent assistance. Just today, we received video reports about floods in the United States of America, Spain, Philippines, and Argentina. All in all, some 30 people died, dozens lost the roofs over their heads and all they had acquired through hard work. [video shows flooded streets, rescue workers helping victims].

It cannot be denied -- unrestrained, raging elements are terrifying.

But the consequences of the catastrophe that awaits our planet, should the accumlated destructive weapons suddenly be unleashed, are unimaginable. That is why we -- the inhabitants of the earth -- await with hope every summit meeting and hope that concrete results are achieved at them, especially concerning issues that alarm all of mankind -- for example, concerning an end to nuclear tests.

In the last few days, on the eve of the dialogue in Reykjavik, I have had to read all sorts of articles in the Western press, in particular in the U.S. press. Everything is clear, they say. At the meeting, the Soviet Union will be trying to realize its main task: to get the United States to join in the moratorium. They write this as though our actions bore no relation whatsoever to curbing the arms race and did not impede the perfecting of new types of nuclear weapons. Finally, they write this as if it were only we, the Soviet people, who need an end to nuclear explosions. And they rejoice in advance by maintaining: The U.S. President will not depart from his earlier position; the President will not agree to support the Soviet unilateral moratorium; the President intends to keep his powder dry.

Well, what can one say to that? Perhaps to quote the words of other American papers: We have to go the extra mile together on the way to the accord; it is essential to get out of the nuclear blind alley; mankind should be delivered from the fear of nuclear war.

WPC SENDS MESSAGE TO REAGAN, GORBACHEV

LD080704 Moscow TASS in English 0645 GMT 8 Oct 86

[Text] Helsinki October 8 TASS -- The World Peace Council, representing national peace organizations in more than 140 countries, has sent a message to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, extending its "warmest greetings" to them on the occasion of their "important meeting" in Reykjavik.

"We speak to you on behalf of millions of peace activists from all continents," the message said. "We hope that the results of your coming meeting in Reykjavik will correspond to the desires and expectations of these people."

The message continued: "We sincerely wish that your meeting will be able to fulfil these expectations and give effective impulses to negotiations on the nuclear test ban, to stop the nuclear arms race on earth and prevent it in outer space and to improve the general international climate. Thus, as everybody hopes, the road will be clear for important decisions in the disarmament sphere at a future summit meeting."

The message went on to say: "These desires originate from the urgent requirements of the nuclear age. These hopes are also based on today's realities, including the agreements which have recently been reached in Stockholm and at the IAEA meeting in Vienna. It means that if there is a political will, it is possible to solve even the most complicated problems through mutual understanding.

The World Peace Council said further in its address to Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan: "The attention of millions of peace activists is drawn today to the capital of Iceland. They wish you concrete success in your responsible mission, success which is expected and will be heartily welcomed by all humanity."

U.S. 'MISINFORMATION' ACTS RULE, NOT EXCEPTION

LD071719 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 7 Oct 86

[Text] The editor of the newspaper WASHINGTON POST, Leonard Downie, says the actions of the United States Government fully undermined all trust in it and in the American press as well. An analysis from our commentator, Aleksandr Pogodin, who writes:

This pessimistic conclusion was drawn after documentary data became public knowledge about the relationships between top-ranking power echelons in Washington and the media. It was reported among other things that for a long time the White House, the State Department and the Pentagon have been regularly supplying the press, television, and radio with deliberately falsified information about Libya. It was these slanderous claims that became the basis for launching a massive anti-Libyan campaign not only in the United States itself but also in a number of other countries where American sources of information are used extensively.

This newspaper, WASHINGTON POST, as well as THE WALL STREET JOURNAL and other periodicals are now bitterly complaining that they were crudely deceived. This scandal is far from the first expose of the propaganda methods practiced in the United States. According to an interview granted to the newspaper PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER by the former head of the CIA spy network in Angola, Mr Stockwell, during the 1970's the CIA fabricated a sensational report which later gained wide currency about atrocities of some sort committed in Angola by the Cubans. That was done to conceal the real brutalities of counterrevolutionary bands in Angola that are in the pay of Washington.

In the same way claims are made now that the Afghan Army uses toxic chemicals against civilians. But it's common knowledge that the bands dispatched to Afghanistan from outside widely use chemical weapons made in the United States. These facts were reported by foreign journalists staying in Afghanistan.

And so the scandal over the revelation of the sources of slanderous information bout Libya is rather the rule than an exception. In the United States they are fond of talking about full freedom of information. I'd say it's more apt to speak of an unlimited freedom of misinformation.

PRAVDA REJECTS PENTAGON REPORT ON TERRORISM

PM071529 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 86 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Sukhoy dispatch: "Terrorism as Seen by the Pentagon"]

[Text] New York, 5 Oct -- The Pentagon has published a special report which says that the Department of State and [other] U.S. federal departments "have no idea how to combat the growing threat of terrorism" because they "do not grasp the nature of this phenomenon."

The U.S. military department has evidently decided to eliminate this gap and to explain to everyone what terrorism is and how it must be fought.

Having coldly remarked at the beginning of the report that the document is, supposedly, not some kind of rigid program but only a "call for dialogue," the authors of the study (this time high-ranking officials from the Army and Air Force staffs) get down to outlining their views on the problem in question. It is, of course, difficult to expect anything original from the U.S. military department. Even so, the bluntness of the conclusions is simply discouraging.

So who are the terrorists? In the opinion of the would-be theoreticians from the Defense Department, this term ought to include the Governments of Nicaragua, Libya, and Afghanistan and all national liberation movements. How are they to be fought? A straightforward matter, the Pentagon "scientists" claim -- with the utmost determination. And they cite as a "salient example" the gangster-like raids by the U.S. Air Force on Libyan cities last spring. Only thus, the report notes, can "our vital interests" be defended.

Well, the problem of terrorism is indeed one of the most alarming and dangerous problems of our time. And a resolute struggle must be waged against the senseless murder of totally innocent people. But the "strategic concepts" outlined in the Pentagon report would hardly further this cause. Nothing is easier than to describe the "contras" and dushmans as "freedom fighters" and the Governments of Nicaragua and Afghanistan as "terrorists." But what has this to do with understanding the nature of terrorism? The Pentagon has simply demonstrated yet again that it is unwilling to call things by their proper names. Meanwhile, it finds it more convenient to call white black and vice versa.

SENATE APPROVES FUNDS FOR INTELLIGENCE SERVICES

LD070848 Moscow TASS in English 0708 GMT 7 Oct 86

[Text] Washington October 7 TASS -- The Senate of the U.S. Congress approved Monday a draft law on allocations for the need of the U.S. intelligence services and intelligence operations in fiscal 1987. Now the draft law will be submitted to the President for signing. Concrete sums and their recipients are kept top secret. However, according to U.S. news agencies, congressmen met all the demands on staging espionage and subversive operations. All the restrictions on rendering secret assistance to the cutthroats from the anti-Angolan UNITA group were lifted.

U.S. USES MEDIA EMPLOYEES FOR SPYING, PROPAGANDA

PM301351 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Sep 86 First Edition p 3

[S. Mukovnin article: "The CIA Has Taken Up the Pen: On Spies Hiding Behind Journalists' Credentials"]

[Text] The U.S. Administration and the American mass media have launched a veritable propaganda war over the arrest of CIA agent N. Daniloff in Moscow. The basis of their thesis is this: Daniloff is an honest journalist and the "treacherous Soviets" arrested him unlawfully. However, Daniloff is by no means the only U.S. intelligence agent using journalist's credentials as a cover. The CIA has long used U.S. journalists for its purposes, and today we are going to describe them.

Washington pays very great attention to subversive propaganda. In addition to the fact that the CIA directly controls a network of information services, press organs, and radio and television stations, it also actively uses a large number of agents from among the employees of the mass media.

Former CIA Director William Colby confirmed that the CIA uses both American and local journalists to manipulate the news and shape public opinion favorable to the United States. Many U.S. newspaper correspondents abroad were for a long time either paid CIA agents or informants, who supplied the leaders of intelligence centers in various capitals on the "dark continent" with accurate and often very useful information. Cyrus Sulzberger, the well-known NEW YORK TIMES commentator, has acknowledged that articles wholly prepared by the CIA have been published under his name. He claimed that, for a U.S. journalist working abroad, the maintenance of regular contacts with the CIA is quite normal. How can one fail here to recall the U.S. press' "indignation" over the arrest in Moscow of CIA agent Daniloff, who used his journalists' credentials as a cover!

Speaking on television quite recently, David Durenberger, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, admitted that the U.S. special services use journalists to gather intelligence information. He stated that the restrictions imposed in the late seventies, after a number of illegal CIA operations had been exposed, prohibiting the recruitment of U.S. journalists for espionage operations were not binding.

According to THE WASHINGTON TIMES, the CIA "is allowed to use journalists working for foreign press organs, radio, and television in their overseas intelligence-gathering operations."

Ralph McGehee, who worked in U.S. intelligence for 25 years, writes in his book "Death and Lies. 25 Years in the CIA": "The CIA had hundreds of its people working in various posts in the world's press -- ranging from officials to influential authorities." According to him, little has changed at Langley in recent years.

Immediately after the present administration came to power, the secret war against Africa was stepped up. The administration apporaoved a secret directive on subversive operations against those countries on the "Dark continent" which are pursuing an independent policy. Particular attention here is paid to the special services. They are supposed to try to split the national liberation movements in Africa and maintain and expand their presence there.

In carrying out this mission, the CIA not only engages in the theft of economic and political secrets. [paragraph continues]

It also organizes coups e'tat and conducts terrorist acts, not even balking at the physical elimination of politicians unfavorable to the United States. But one of the main areas of its activity is subversive propaganda. In addition to the fact that the CIA directly controls a network of information services, press organs, and radio and television stations, it also actively uses a large number of agents from among the employees of the mass media. [This sentence as published, repeated verbatim from second paragraph above]

The authors of the book "Dirty Work-2. The CIA in Africa," devoted a whole chapter to that. It speaks about U.S. intelligence's attempts to use the African press to spread false reports and disinformation there prepared at the factor of lies at CIA headquarters in Langley. It cites the evidence of several U.S. ambassadors who have worked in Africa -- William Porter, Dean Brown, and William Trueheart -- who stated unanimously that the CIA constantly uses "vile propaganda" to deceive African public opinion.

An article by John Stockwell, former leader of a CIA operations group in Angola, says for example that Ray (Chayls), a paid hack, prepared propaganda materials for the CIA in Kinshasa (capital of Zaire) which were initially printed in the local newspapers ELIMA and SALONGO and subsequently transmitted to Western Europe for publication in the world press.

Evidence of the manipulation of information and the use of representatives of the press in the interests of the U.S. special services is also provided by statements by former CIA chief Admiral Turner. Current CIA Director William Casey openly argues that the government has the right to deceive the people by publishing falsehoods in the press. THE WASHINGTON POST has written that Casey has done everything possible to prevent correct information on the CIA from getting into the press. Furthermore, he has had criminal proceedings instituted against reporters who could have exposed CIA agents.

The PEOPLE'S DAILY graphic newspaper has published a series of articles on the CIA's subversive activity against Ghana and other African countries. This espionage department used government employees recruited locally to install telephone tapping devices. With the hope of Ghanian Foreign Ministry staffers it attempted to gain access to diplomatic correspondence. Using the press as a powerful means of waging "psychological warfare," the CIA infiltrated false reports into the press to try to disinform people and undermine their confidence in the country's leadership.

The CIA actively uses the USIA apparatus in its subversive activity. That U.S. Information Agency conducts acts of psychological warfare and ideological sabotage in those countries where the Reagan administration considers the existing political system undesirable and the lawful government unsuitable. Like the CIA, the USIA distributes articles and materials among local journalists and newspaper and magazine publishers without indicating that they come from the United States. Thus, USIA staffers use other people -- local citizens -- in their actions and on their behalf urge the population of one country or another to pursue a course favorable to the U.S. Administration. The practice of bribing journalists and publishing information under fictitious names is widespread.

It its subversive propaganda activity against the "frontline states" the CIA exploits the fact that a considerable number of local journalists were trained in the West. It is among them that the Americans try to recruit agents. Trips to the United States are organized for African journalists at the invitation of U.S. newspapers and information departments, and ideological influence is exerted on them there.

The independent African countries are understanding increasingly clearly that they can counter the U.S. intelligence service's intrigues in the propaganda sphere only if they pool their efforts. A conference of nonaligned countries' foreign ministers was held in Delhi in April 1986, and during that conference the need to strengthen cooperation among the nonaligned and other developing countries in the information sphere was stressed. Note was made of the positive role of the pool of nonaligned countries, news agencies, created to counter the biased coverage of events by the West's mass media organs.

PRAVDA NOTES PROGRAM FOR U.S. SHUTTLE FLIGHTS

PM071609 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 86 First Edition p 5

[Unnamed own correspondent report: "The Pentagon Needs the Shuttle"]

[Text] New York, 6 Oct -- NASA has announced some details of a 7-year shuttle flight program.

Space shuttle launches will resume on 18 February 1988 and for 3 years will consist primarily of "flights for military purposes." In the 7-year period as a whole, the military department will take up at least 41 percent of the shuttle flights, in other words, 8 percent more than in the equivalent period before the Challenger accident.

NASA Director J. Fletcher has stated that the Defense Department will be given every opportunity to make up the backlog in putting military freight into space, caused when NASA's space activity was suspended as a result of the tragedy at Cape Canaveral last January. The priority given to the Pentagon in this instance, J. Fletcher noted, is due to the "great importance and ugency of military-space research wholly connected with national security interests."

PRC SPOKESMAN VOICES HOPE FOR REYKJAVIK

PM071149 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS dispatch: "For the Sake of Peace on Earth"]

[Text] Beijing, 6 Oct -- A spokesman of the PRC Foreign Ministry has made a statement in connection with the upcoming meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan in Reykjavik. "We," he said, "welcome the Soviet-American summit and hope that the Soviet Union and the United States will hold serious talks and achieve agreement on a substantial reduction in arms which will not damage the interests of other countries and serve the relaxation of international tension and the preservation of peace on earth."

VORONTSOV VIEWS PRC STAND ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

PM031525 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 38, 29 Sep 86 pp 20-21

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Vorontsov: "Facing the Responsibility. China and Nuclear Disarmament"]

[Text] "We and China, as far as one can judge, have similar priorities -- the acceleration of socio-economic development," Mikhail Gorbachev said in his speech in Vladivostok. These priorities are determined by the requirements of and the laws governing the development of the new society. Naturally, these laws are not manifested in the same way in the political sphere in all countries. Specific historical and national features to a large extent shape political thinking in each country that has opted for socialism. At the same time the economic and social development of socialist society in all cases requires reduction of international tension and tangible headway in the matter of disarmament.

In the late seventies and early eighties the People's Republic of China was increasingly drawn into participation in international talks on disarmament. Since 1980 its representatives and experts have taken part in the Geneva Disarmament Conference and in special working groups, for intance, in the group on identification of seismic phenomena as a means of verifying observance of bans on nuclear arms testing. China's more active participation in international negotiations on control over nuclear arms is generall regarded as a positive development.

Note must be made of the evolution of China's position on urgent problems of nuclear disarmament. As distinct from the recent past, this position is now being backed by appropriate argumentation, with stricter account being taken of the grim realities of the nuclear age.

At the 40th U.N. General Assembly last year the Chinese delegate voted for a resolution calling for the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons of any type. Hopes of being able to win a nuclear war are senseless, the resolution stressed. It rejected all military doctrines and concepts that could impede the adoption of measures aimed at ending the nuclear arms race and lead to the outbreak of nuclear war.

The U.S. and its allies, with the exception of Greece, voted against the resolution. This was not a matter of chance. [paragraph continues]

One U.S. military doctrine underlying the SDI programme is specifically aimed at the achievement of military superiority. The Chinese leadership rightly holds that such projects signify the beginning of another round in the arms race in a new sphere. Speaking of the dangers with which extension of the arms race into outer space is fraught, P.R.C. spokesmen have cited a highly apposite Chinese folk saying: For every shield there is a sword and for every sword a shield can be found."

Beijing has questioned the "defensive nature" of SDI. "Outer space," Premier Zhao Ziyang said last March, "Must be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the good of all humanity; no country should develop, test, or deploy space weapons in any form." China has advanced the idea of concluding an international agreement on the total prohibition of space weapons and was the co-author of the resolution on preventing an arms race in outer space.

China's role in the worldwide movement for a peaceful outer space is growing in connection also with the growing significance of the space research the P.R.C. has been conducting since the mid-fifties. In the period from April 1970 to the beginning of this year it has put 18 artificial earth satellites in orbit. In the opinion of many experts, even at the present rate of development of China's aerospace industry, by the end of the eighties it will be able to put into low orbit a payload comparable with that of the most powerful Soviet and American vehicles. China is also conducting intensive research on space laboratories. However, no particular emphasis is placed on this research, priority being given to the creation of the necessary industrial base. Ties with other countries in the peaceful utilization of outer space are being promoted. The Soviet Union has offered cooperation in this sphere which could include the training of Chinese cosmonauts.

Of great importance from the standpoint of preventing war is the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. So far the P.R.C. and the U.S.S.R. are the only members of the "nuclear club" that have undertaken such a committment.

On March 21 this year a mass meeting was held in Beijing under the slogan "The Peoples of China are for World Peace" in response to the U.N. appeal in connection with the proclamation of the International Year of Peace. Addressing the meeting, Premier Zhao Ziyang spoke of China's opposition to the arms race. He stressed that for a number of years (beginning in 1983) China has not conducted nuclear tests in the atmosphere and would not do so in the future. The Chinese side makes the continuation of tests dependent on the reduction of the Soviet and American nuclear arsenals and the conclusion of a comprehensive agreement prohibiting tests. (Footnote) (According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, China had carried out 29 nuclear tests by the end of 1984.)

Chinese official spokesmen have repeatedly stressed that cooperation in the nuclear sphere between the P.R.C. and other countries invariably "serves peaceful purposes and will never be projected at non-peaceful objectives." It will be recalled that this principle is written into the partial test ban treaty of 1963 and the Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968. The overwhelming majority of countries are signatories to these agreements. It would seem that there are no serious obstacles to China, too, acceding to them. If it did so this would undoubtedly contribute both to the limitation of the nuclear arms race and the strengthening of the non-proliferation regime.

At diverse conferences China's representatives as a rule call for termination of the nuclear arms buildup primarily by the Soviet Union and the United States. This is natural enough. Without the efforts and initiatives of these great powers the obstacles to nuclear disarmament could hardly be overcome.

At the same time, one can hardly agree with the thesis of the "equal responsibility" of the Soviet Union and the United States for the arms race on a regional and global scale. Is not the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing, for instance, testimony to a sincere desire to resolve this problem not of our making? Is this move not fully in accord with the aspirations of peace-loving states and also with the proposals of the P.R.C. as regards the ending of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union and the United States? The U.S.S.R., as is known, has put forward a programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century, proposals for the removal from Europe of all American and Soviet medium-range missiles, and many other initiatives.

In recent years some changes have taken place in the position of the P.R.C. on problems relating to the nuclear confrontation in the Asian and Pacific region. China is critical of the growing U.S. military presence in this part of the world. At the same time, one can hardly overlook the contention advanced in some public statements by official Chinese spokesmen that both "superpowers" are to blame for the arms race in this region. After all, it is not the Soviet Union but the Western powers that have been knocking together military blocs and carrying out nuclear tests there. On the contrary, the Soviet Union urges that barriers be raised to the proliferation and buildup of nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific. It has undertaken not to increase the number of its medium-rance missiles in the Asian part of the U.S.S.R. Moreover, our country has proposed to begin talks on the reduction of naval activity in the Pacific, primarily of nuclear-armed naval forces. The United States has responded to this by stepping up naval activities in this part of the world.

On the whole, China and the Soviet Union take a positive view of the movement for the creation of nuclear-free zones, in the South Pacific, for instance. Washington, on the other hand, is opposed to the decisions of the South Pacific Forum (which consists of 13 countries and self-governing territories in the area) and pressures its participants to prevent the creation of a nuclear-free zone. In doing so the U.S. is prompted by a desire to continue the arms buildup in the region. Indeed, it was the U.S. that deployed nuclear weapons in one of the area's crisis zones -- the Korean Peninsula -- and U.S. carriers of these weapons have appeared on the militarist activity in the region, for the transformation of the Pacific into a zone of military-political confrontation rests not with the U.S.S.R. or the P.R.C. but with the United States.

On the whole, China's present position on the pressing problems of nuclear disarmament differs to a considerable extent from that propounded by official P.R.C. spokesmen 10-15 years ago. This is connected with the objective set by the Communist Party of China -- modernization of the country with the ultimate aim of building a socialist society. This goal can be achieved only in the conditions of lasting peace nd international security.

History has entrusted the Soviet and Chinese people with an extremely important mission. Much in international development depends on the two biggest socialist powers.

VOLODIN ON CONTROVERSIES AT SEOUL ASIAN GAMES

PM071545 Moscow SOVETSKIY SPORT in Russian 4 Oct 86 p 4

["Today's Commentary" by Yu. Volodin: "A Wave of Protest"]

[Text] It was not just an ordinary wave, but a real tidal wave of protest that hit the 10th Asian Games which are due to finish in Seoul 5 October. The authorities responded with repressions to the thousands-strong demonstrations of protest against the 1986 Asian Games being used to apply cosmetic makeup to the international "image" or, in other words, to save the unsightly face of Chon Tu-hwan's puppet dictatorial regime. It has already been reported that special army subunits were brought to Seoul, and now they, together with the 100,000-strong police corps, have been thrown in to stifle mass demonstrations, especially by young people and students. On Thursday alone the "security forces" fought real bloody battles on the student campuses of Seoul's four universities. Hundreds of students were arrested and dozens of them were injured.

The noise of street fighting reaching the sports arena was far from the only indication to sportsmen of the total inability of the organizers of the 1986 Asian Games to ensure a normal atmosphere for the holding of a major sports event. The name of Seoul's Kimpo International Airport, where five people were killed by a bomb explosion before the start of the Asian Games, appeared again on teletype and telex tapes for international news agencies, this time in connection with the... disappearance of a team of Iranian weight lifters! The disappearance without any trace of four adult and, no doubt, strong men headed by super-heavy weight (Mekhdi Rezvari), bronze medalist at the 1986 Asian Games, literally 1 hour before they were due to fly home. The matter is, of course, under investigation....

Protests of a different kind, which go a considerable way to darken and poison the atmosphere in which the sportsmen are competing, have been added to protests of a political nature in the course of the Asian Games. We are talking about biased judgments by South Korean referees, which have already caused quite a few major scandals here. We have already reported the protests made by representatives of the PRC and Indonesia in connection with the prejudiced judgments by South Korean referees at the initial stages of the badminton competition. An Indonesian player, indignant at a clearly unfair judgment by the referee, threw down his racket in the middle of badminton quarter-final. The Indonesian team's trainer declared indignantly before journalists: "It is impossible to compete under these conditions!" And the correctness of this conclusion was soon confirmed by yet another scandal: A South Korean rider won the gold medal in the riding competition but, it later became clear, only because his fellow-countryman referee assessed the "victor's" performance 80 (!) points higher than the performance by the silver medalist from Japan. But the other judges gave their marks to the Japanese sportsman who was considerably better.

In one way or another, the South Korean participants in the 1986 Asian Games managed in the last few days to overtake their rivals from Japan in the number of medals and have come second after the PRC sportsmen. As of 2 October the leaders had 188 medals (80 gold, 69 silver, and 39 bronze). The South Korean team had 174 medals -- 63 gold, 48 silver, and 63 bronze. Japan's sportsmen have one medal less -- 52, 61, and 60 respectively.

SRV'S TRAN QUYNH WRITES IN PRAVDA ON AID

PM071621 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 86 First Edition p 4

[Article by Tran Quynh, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee and vice chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers: "Horizons of Cooperation: Following the Course of the Party Congresses"]

[Text] Hanoi -- After the victory in spring 1975 and the country's subsequent reunification, Vietnam entered the brightest era in its centuries-old history -- an era of independence, unity, and socialist building. But at the same time our country faced tremendous difficulties: Small-scale production still predominated and labor productivity and national income were extremely low. Considerable disproportions persisted in the economy. The shortage of food, clothing, and other necessities allowed no increase in the growth rate of the population's living standard. The country had a shortage of coal, oil products, electricity, and materials. Agriculture was backward, and the extremely weak industrial base did not meet the development needs of what is now the main sector of our economy.

Furthermore the country, which had only just emerged from 30 years of bitter wear, was still experiencing its difficult after-effects and the influence of neocolonialism in the economic social, and ideological areas. The struggle between the two paths of development -- socialist and capitalist -- was accompanied by subversive activity by hostile forces. Vietnam was forced to create a new society while maintaining a constant readiness to repulse both subversive activity and the aggression of our external enemies. Gradually we saw with increasing clarity the essence and scale of the difficulties as well as the grandeur of the tasks ahead of us.

At the beginning of the transitional period on the path to socialism, our party adopted a course of concentrating efforts on the development of agriculture and on switching it toward large-scale socialist production. At the same time, the tasks were set of increasing consumer goods production, restoring transport, and building certain heavy industry projects, which were needed above all for servicing agriculture. In the process of implementing these tasks we considered it necessary to pay special attention to the accelerated development of exports as a means of increasing imports of the equipment and materials that we needed.

In addition to making all-around use of our own potential we consider cooperation with and assistance from the socialist community states, primarily the great Soviet Union, an important factor on the path of socialist building. This is one of the main prerequisites for and a vital condition of successful socialist building in Vietnam.

True to its internationalist duty, the Soviet Union has offered our people tremendous and invaluable assistance, provides effective cooperation, and makes a considerable contribution to the attainment of the goals that we have set in the economic and social plan.

Relying on this assistance, we have achieved considerable results in developing agriculture in recent years and are on the verge of self-sufficiency in food, despite the fact that the population is increasing at a rate of more than 1 million a year. [paragraph continues]

In the last 5-year plan the Soviet Union satisfied more than one-half of our needs for nitrogenous fertilizers and supplied the bulk of our tractors and fuel. Enterprises built with the Soviet land's assistance make a decisive contribution to supplying agriculture with electricity, coal, and tools. Thanks to the import of cotton and other industrial raw materials from the Soviet Union we have been able to make fuller use of the production potential existing in light industry and to substantially satisfy the demand for the consumer goods that it produces.

With Soviet technical assistance, the construction of many major facilities of great importance for creating socialilsm's material and technical base has been launched in Vietnam. This applies primarily to enterprises in the power industry, transport, machine building, and the construction industry. I should particularly like to mention those construction projects which have become symbols of the indestructible friendship between our countries, parties, and peoples. They include the mighty, four-turbine Pha Lai thermal power station, which already has three turbines in operation and a fourth due to be commissioned at the end of this year; the Hoa Binh hydroengineering complex and the (China) hydroelectric power station, whose first stages will be handed over next year: The Thanh Long bridge across the Red River; and the Bien Son plant, which has a deisgn capacity of 1.2 million metric tons of cement a year.

In the current 5-year plan the Soviet Union will help us to complete the construction and modernization of a number of projects, including enterprises for the production of diesel motors and equipment for sugar refineries and small-scale hydroelectric power engineering: And a start will be made on building a metallurgical plant with a capacity of 500,000 metric tons of metal a year, a plant for producing nitrogenous fertilizer fron natural gas, an oil-refining combine, and so forth. The modernization of the Hanoi-Ho Chi Minh City mainline railroad, in which other CEMA members will participate, will be of great importance, enabling the carrying capacity of the country's country's main transport route to be increased.

As well as the help in the construction and equipping of a number of projects, there are also Soviet credits on preferential terms and supplies to our economy of fuels and lubricants, mineral fertilizers, steel, and cotton, which will help ease import conditions and contribute to the strengthening of Vietnam's economy.

In recent years economic cooperation between our countries has taken a new step forward. Of special importance is the mutual assistance in the sphere of exploring for and extracting oil and gas on the continental shelf of south Vietnam conducted by the "Vyetsovpetro" joint enterprise. In addition to that, programs connected with the production of rubber, vegetables, coffee, tea, tobacco, and other tropical crops will begin or continue.

The economic ties between the SRV and the USSR are built on the firm foundation of the 3 November 1978 Treaty on friendship and cooperation and in accordance with the long-term program for the development of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, signed as a result of the talks between Le Duan and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretaries of our parties' Central Committees.

The CPV Central Committee and the SRV Government attach paramount importance to increasing the efficiency of the economic cooperation between our countries. [paragraph continues]

To meet the needs of projects being built with the Soviet Union's assistance and to ensure their prompt commissioning and the earliest use of their capacities we must continue the resolute and effective restructuring of the management organs structure, increase labor discipline and productivity, make thrifty use of materials and construction equipment, and more rapidly resolve the social problems affecting the life of the people, above all the working class.

The task of increasing the effectiveness of our cooperation makes new demands on the work by the two countries' corresponding organizations to coordinate efforts to ensure the prompt and comprehensive supply of materials, equipment, machinery, and spares and to resolve transport problems. Our countries will pay increasing attention to making efficient use of capital investments so as to commission projects under construction as quickly as possible and bring them up to design capacity.

The documents adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, which was a most important historical event and gave Vietnamese Communists and all the Vietnamese people an inspirational boost and firm confidence in the future, are of tremendous significance for cooperation prospects.

The tremendous tasks posed by the 27th CPSU Congress in the sphere of improving the management of the economy are a shining example to our country. They will also help us find correct answers to the questions posed by history and raise our economy to a higher level of development. Guided by Lenin's principles of democratic centralism, strengthening and developing the role of planning, expanding the rights of local economic links, introducing autonomous financing, encouraging socialist enterprise, and correctly combining the interests of the whole of society with those of the collective and the working person, we shall more fully realize working people's rights to collective management, enshrined in the decisions of our party's fifth congress.

Communists and all the Vietnamese people express profound gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet Government, and the fraternal Soviet people for their noble help to our country and are prepared to do everything to ensure that this help and cooperation are used to maximum effect. This is a duty, an obligation, and a matter of conscience for all party and state organs, all sectors and enterprises, and every citizen of Vietnam.

GORBACHEV MEETS WITH GERMAN PARTY LEADERS

PM061057 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 86 First Edition p 1

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS -- The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev had a conversation on 3 October with the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR Erich Honecker, the chairman of the German Communist Party Herbert Mies, the chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin Horst Schmitt, who were taking part in the unveiling of a monument to Ernst Thaelmann in Moscow.

The leaders of the fraternal parties exchanged views on a wide range of international questions, first of all those concerning the safeguarding of peace and security in Europe. The unity of positions of the CPSU, the SUPG, the GDP, and the SUP of West Berlin on the questions under discussion was confirmed.

Secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin and Vadim Medvedev took part in the conversation that passed in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

GDR's Honecker Departs

LD031733 Moscow TASS in English 1557 GMT 3 Oct 86

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, left Moscow for home today.

He stayed in the USSR at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee for the unveiling of a monument to Ernst Thaelmann.

Erich Honecker was seen off at the airport by Yegor Ligachev, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Vadim Medvedev, a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials.

SEW's Schmitt Departs

LD031735 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 3 Oct 86

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS -- Horst Schmitt, Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, left Moscow today.

Dobrynin Sees Off DKP's Mies

LD051323 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 5 Oct 86

[Text] Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, today departed Moscow for Duesseldorf. He took part in the unveiling of a monument to Ernst Thaelmann in the capital of our country. At the airport, Herbert Mies was seen off by Comrade Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and by CPSU Central Committee officials.

YELTSIN INTERVIEWED ON BULGARIAN TIES

AU072041 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 3 Oct 86 p 3

[Interview given by Boris Yeltsin, "candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee," to Nikolina Sevdanova, in Moscow, date of the interview not given]

[Text] [Sevdanona] Boris Nikolayevich, recently Sofia lived under the sign of Moscow. The Moscow Days prompted many moving and useful meetings in our capital with creators of modern Soviet culture, and with representatives of the scientific-technological thought and industrial and economic specialists. According to you, what are the new elements in this association between our countries and peoples, which has long become a vital necessity?

[Yeltsin] I would like to say to the Bulgarian readers and all our friends that friendship and cooperation between Moscow and Sofia have a history of many decades. Our cooperation develops ever more actively in recent years, especially after the 13th BCP and the 27th CPSU Congresses. I would say that these relations have a completely new meaning and content. A revolution is taking place both in the minds and in the reconstruction of mutual relations. [sentence as published] The time such as the one immediately following the Great Fatherland War, when our relations were based predominantly on an economic and industrial basis and so forth, is over. Now Bulgaria's economy and culture have grown so much that our relations obtain a new meaning and character. This is real cooperation between partners who are equal in everything. We are learning from each other not formally but essentially, and are doing this in many areas such as the economy. Now you are engulfed in the issues of perfecting the structure of managing the national economy, improving the quality of production, electronizing your entire economy, and so forth. It is exceptionally interesting to note that in this respect Bulgaria today occupies one of the leading places among the socialist countries. We can only rejoice with this fact, and gladly study your experience.

[Sevdanova] What are the directions in which our cooperation will develop further?

[Yeltsin] It is very important to create joint enterprises and collectives for solving the scientific-technical problems. This is a reliable way of developing our countries' science, technology, and entire economy in an accelerated pace.

[Sevdanova] Cultural relations and intellectual creativity have their own share, which is of great historical value, in developing Bulgaria-USSR cooperation and unity. What are your impressions, Boris Nikolayevich, of the present festive days?

[Yeltsin] Bulgarian culture has always been on a very high level and has rich traditions, therefore what your creators and creative unions now show pleases the citizens of Moscow and all Soviet people who can meet them. The citizens of Moscow convey to all Bulgarian friends, and to all party, state, and public organizations and creative institutes which helped to organize these festive days in our country, their gratitude for the esthetic pleasure. Please accept also my personal thanks. Our cooperation will continue to develop strongly and actively and on a new basis. We shall walk hand in hand along our common road in the name of peace and the happiness of our children, youth, and peoples.

MEDVEDEV RECEIVES PZPR ECONOMIC DELEGATION

PM071423 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] Under the plan for CPSU-PZPR interparty ties, a group of PZPR party workers headed by M. Holdakowki, member of the PZPR Central Committee and chief of the PZPR Central Committee Economic Section, visited Moscow 28 September through 2 October to familiarize itself with the CPSU's experience in improving management of the national economy, including the sphere of foreign economic ties, and in disseminating new forms of labor organization in industry and the certification of work places.

The Polish comrades had meetings and talks at the CPSU Central Committee Economic Section, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and visited Moscow's M.I. Kalinin "Frezer" Tool Association.

The PZPR party workers were received by V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

PPR STATEMENT ON ILLEGAL SOLIDARITY GROUP REPORTED

LD042032 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 4 Oct 86

[Text] Warsaw October 4 TASS -- The PAP agency circulated a statement by the Polish government's representative for the press on the occasion of establishing in Gdansk an illegal organ -- "the Interim Council" of banned "Solidarity".

The progressive process of stabilizing the situation in the country, he said, is backed by society. Impressive results have been achieved on this road. However, some leaders of former "Solidarity" have take steps running counter to this trend. They are fully determined, as they did in 1981, to immediately use everything to fight the socialist system.

Extremists for that past period indulge in illusions, believing that they would be able again to use the same scenario, known in 1980-1981: At first many beautiful words about agreement and strenuous labour, then conflicts, strikes and demonstrations, dislocation of the economy and devastation of the market, growing demands, subversion of Poland's alliances guaranteeing security of its borders, and at last, clear desire for the overthrow of people's power. They call for setting up illegal and well camouflaged organs and for establishing secret ties with foreign countries.

This group filling foreign orders on destabilizing socialist Poland erroneously assess their possibilities. Today is a different time and a different situation. The resolute majority of Poles do not want a repetition of the 1981 events. No matter what "Solidarity" leaders who went bankrupt five years ago say today, their words lost trustworthiness long ago. Millions of people have understood that they are a camouflage for quite different schemes.

It is also worthwhile noting that the establishment of "The Interim Council" in Gdansk is well coordinated in time and methods with the hostile policy of some Western quarters against Poland.

Wrong-doing on the part of enemies of socialism and their use of the authorities' humane actions to step up subversive activities run counter to aspirations and wishes of the majority of the Polish people. If a handful of extremists will force, today or in future, the authorities to stiff application of law against them, let then nobody call on the government to new humane acts. The responsibility for this will rest with the other side.

PRAVDA ON PPR DOMESTIC SCENE, SOLIDARITY ACTIVITY

PM071339 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 86 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent O. Losoto "International Notes": "The Reason for This Ballyhoo"]

[Text] Warsaw -- The panorama of Polish reality today is diverse. Reports from the regions indicate that industry and agriculture are successfully fulfilling the plan targets. A good grain crop harvest has been gathered in the country. The harvesting of potatoes and sugar beet is drawing to a close.

The report and election campaign now taking place within the PZPR occupies an important place in society's life. This is a crucial stage in the party's life. All voivodship, city, parish, plant, and primary party organizations are analyzing the work that has been done and the experience of recent years and are outlining specific ways to fulfill the 10th PZPR Congress' decisions. The report and election campaign is a test of the maturity of all party links.

Poland is mobilizing its forces to fulfill the 10th PZPR Congress decisions on the country's accelerated socioeconomic development in the present 5-year plan and in the long-term through the year 2000. Recently the Polish Sejm approved the 1987 national economic plan, which envisages a 3.2-3.5 percent growth in national income, a 3-3.4 percent increase in industrial production, and a 1.5 percent increase in agricultural production.

The commission created by decision of the 10th PZPR Congress to examine and modernize the structures of the economy and the state has begun work. As its chairman M. Wozniak, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has noted, "The efficient organization of work and other forms of society's life is no luxury. It is the demand of the times and the condition for economic and social progress. Reserves for economy and factors for intensive growth are the criteria by which the party will judge the work of cadres, enterprises, and institutions."

The commission has deemed the modernization of the system of leadership and management in close interconnection with mechanisms of the economic reform that is in progress, the rationalization of the level and structure of employment, the improvement of the system of citizens' services, and the struggle against bureaucracy to be among its main tasks.

The report which has been published on the country's external debt and ways of overcoming it has aroused interest and concern.

Poland's debt to capitalist countries now stands at $31.3 billion. This is a grave economic problem facing the country. At the same time, the report notes, Poland will certainly not remain in debt forever. Improving the quality and expanding Polish exports will be of decisive significance for improving the payments situation. The party and government are taking the corresponding measures.

The Polish press condemns the unlawful economic sanctions which have been inflicted on Poland by the United States and some of its allies for 4 and 1/2 years now. At first the Washington administration tried to prevent Poland from overcoming the economic crisis and when that failed it began making efforts to slow down the growth of production in the country as much as possible and to complicate the talks on its foreign debt. Those sanctions cost Poland $15 billion. That is almost one-half of its debt.

As is well known, the normalization and stabilization of life in the country has made it possible to declare a broad political amnesty. This move by the government has been greeted with understanding and support among the broad circles of the Polish public and abroad.

The matter would seem clear, the topic closed. Socialist Poland's enemies have lost the main argument which they exploited in every way: that of political prisoners, trials allegedly being prepared against them, and so forth.

However, the Polish authorities' humane act has not been correctly perceived by everyone. There is a small group of people who are trying to use the amnesty to return to the situation of violence created by the antisocialist forces prior to the imposition of martial law in Decmeber 1981. Seven former "Solidarity" chiefs have announced the establishment in Gdansk of a "provisional council" of this organization, whose antisocialist character was exposed and proven long ago. The self-styled "council" intends to revive its illegal activity, which is contrary to the laws existing in Poland. This group, the press here is noting, is seeking support outside the country. On this occasion, TRYBUNA LUDU writes, the "founders" of the Gdansk "provision council," losing support in their own country, are gambling on forces in the West hostile to Poland. Hence the fuss kicked up again by the subversive radio stations and some Western press organs.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY calls this small groups's actions a clinical case of political blindness. It covers its every move by high-flown words about the fatherland and the people, whose interests it claims to serve. However, the newspaper notes, how can you believe people who plunged the country into the most acute crisis and then did their utmost to ensure that the situation did not improve. It was they who supplied the West with information which was used against Poland. It was they who during the country's most difficult times supported the U.S. sanctions aimed against the Polish people.

...Socialist Poland is taking the path of progressive socioeconomic development and is building up its strength. Neither the internal enemies of socialism, who have lost touch with their own people, nor their Western protectors and inspirers can halt that process.

SOLOMENTSEV BUDAPEST ACTIVITIES REPORTED

PM060815 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Experience"]

[Text] Budapest, 26 Sep -- yesterday the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee delegation headed by M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, acquainted itself with the activity of the Budapest party organization and life in the Hungarian capital.

At the Budapest MSZMP Committee the delegation met with the leaders of the city party organization. K. Grosz, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Budapest city party committee, told the Soviet guests about Budapest today and about the implementation of the 13th MSZMP Congress decisions. There was an exchange of experience of party work and improvement of the style, forms, and methods of party control.

On the same day the delegation visited the Budapest international consumer goods market and looked round the Soviet exhibition, which graphically reflects the results of the USSR's economic cooperation with the socialist countries.

The Soviet guests were warmly greeted by the workers at one of the city's biggest enterprises -- the Hungarian optical combine, one of whose biggest customers is the Soviet Union.

In conversations with the combine's leaders and workers there was mention of the importance of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 and of the great significance of the expansion of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in accelerating the use of scientific and technical achievements in production.

HUNGARIAN ATTACHE HOLDS FORCES DAY RECEPTION

PM030743 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Sep 86 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Celebrating a Holiday"]

[Text] On 29 September Major General L. Varga, military attache at the Hungarian Embassy in the Soviet Union, arranged a reception marking Hungarian Armed Forces Day.

The reception was attended by Army General Yu. P. Maksimov, USSR deputy defense minister; Colonel General D.A. Volkogonov, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political directorate, and other generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces. The guests included military attaches at a number of foreign states' embassies in the USSR.

Hungarian Ambassador to the USSR S. Rajnai was present.

ARISTOV DISCUSSES TRADE WITH SFRY OFFICIAL

PM031553 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Oct 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings, Talks"]

[Text] B.I. Aristov, foreign trade minister, had a talk with J. Zemljaric, vice president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, 1 October. Questions of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries were examined. M. Drulovic, SFRY ambassador to the USSR, took part in the talk.

IZVESTIYA ON 'SECRET' PLAN TO DESTABILIZE LIBYA

PM061101 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 86 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent A. Blinov: "United States-Libya Secret Actions Against a Sovereign Country"]

[Text] Washington -- The U.S. press has revealed information on a White House administration campaign of misinformation and intimidation against Libya aimed at destabilizing the situation in the country.

According to information published in THE WASHINGTON POST on 14 August, the White House has adopted a secret plan for pressuring Libya which incorporates a "series of closely coordinated, secret diplomatic, military, and propaganda actions" aimed at "securing a change of leadership in Libya." Misinformation actions aimed at disorientating world public opinion and provoking anti-Libyan hysteria in the United States were an important part of the plan.

Immediately after it was adopted, U.S. officials supplied the U.S. press with bogus "data" to the effect that Libya had allegedly stepped up its terrorist plan. At the same time there were zealous efforts to propagandize the thesis of the activation of the "internal political struggle" in Libya geared to the seizure of power by rival groups. The CIA was instructed to ensure the appearance of similar fabrications in the foreign press.

The White House plan also envisaged direct action by U.S. armed forces and diplomats to intimidate Libya. They included "feints" by U.S. aircraft carriers to confuse Libya about U.S. armed forces' intentions and transmission of radio reports suggesting the threat of an incursion into Libyan airspace by U.S. aircraft. All this, according to the plan's creators, was supposed to make the country nervous.

Washington's plan for action for Libya was objected to by a number of participants in secret conferences at the White House. In particular, Admiral Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, expressed doubts about the advisability of the involvement of U.S. armed forces in misinformation actions. But the plan was adopted despite this objection. On the adoption of the plan, U.S. diplomats carried out a number of actions directed against Libya; in particular, prominent officials made trips abroad to create an anti-Libyan front. Vernon Walters, U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations, traveled to a number of West European capitals. He was supposed to convince the leaders of those countries that Libya is "stepping up its terrorist activity." In fact, as THE WASHINGTON POST writes, the U.S. Administration had no such information.

As is known, the secret plan adopted by the White House was actively implemented by all Washington's diplomatic and secret services. Not only did it not have the expected impact, in fact, the U.S. press admits it failed.

UAE REPORTEDLY TO OPEN EMBASSY IN MOSCOW

LD022237 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 2 Oct 86

[Text] The United Arab Emirates will open an embassy here in Moscow. A decree to that effect was signed by Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan al-Nuhayyan. The Soviet Union has already opened an embassy in Abu Dhabi.

BURKINA FASO LEADER ARRIVES IN COUNTRY 6 OCT

Met in Leningrad by Koshoyev

LD061519 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1451 GMT 6 Oct 86

[Text] Leningrad, 6 Oct (TASS) -- Captain Thomas Sankara, chairman of the National Council of Revolution, president and head of the Government of Burkina Faso, arrived today in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government.

At Leningrad airport the guest was met by Temirbek Koshoyev, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and other officials.

Tours Leningrad

LD062114 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 86

[Text] Captain Thomas Sankara, chairman of the National Revolutionary Council and President and head of government of Burkina Faso, today arrived in Leningrad. His official friendly visit to our country at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Soviet Government has begun.

Comrade Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and first secretary of Leningrad obkom, had a meeting with the guest. The Burkinabe leader was told of the main lines of activity of the Leningrad party organization in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the plan for the economic and social development of the region for the 12th 5-Year Plan period, and the work for intensification of public production.

Thomas Sankara looked round the Vladimir Ilich Lenin memorial museum at the Smolnyy. At the Piskarevskoye memorial cemetery he honored the memory of Leningraders and servicemen who were killed in the years of the Great Patriotic War, and he laid a wreath at the monument to the motherland. Flowers were laid at the monument to the heroic defenders of the city of Victory Square. On behalf of the Leningrad obkom and the Leningrad gorispolkom a dinner was given in honor of the guest.

Arrives in Moscow

LD080747 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 8 Oct 86

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS -- Captain Thomas Sankara, chairman of the National Revolution Council, president and head of Government of Burkina Faso, arrived in Moscow from Leningrad today.

He is staying in the USSR on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government.

Thomas Sankara was welcomed at the airport by Andrey Gromyko, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and other officials.

MALAGASY PRESIDENT COMMENTS ON RECENT VISIT

LD040956 Moscow TASS in English 0618 GMT 4 Oct 86

[Text] Antananarivo October 3 TASS -- In the present-day complicated international situation the utmost should be done in order to ensure through dialogue durable world peace. A nuclear war means death to the whole of mankind. This was stated here at a press conference today by President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar Didier Ratsiraka.

The head of the Malagasy state expressed satisfaction with the results of his official friendly visit to the Soviet Union. The relations between our countries, he said, are gaining in strength and broadening. Didier Ratsiraka noted the great significance for Madagascar of the experience accumulated by the countryside working people of the USSR, specifically in developing the cooperative movement.

ZIMBABWEAN FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES 6 OCT

LD060903 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0833 GMT 6 Oct 86

[Text] Moscow 6 Oct (TASS) -- Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende, special representative of the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement and Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe, arrived in Moscow today to hand to General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev an appeal adopted at the Eighth Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Nonaligned Countries, which took place at Harare 1-7 September.

S.N. SEMENENKO APPOINTED AMBASSADOR TO UGANDA

PM071439 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 86 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Chronicle"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Stanislav Nikolayevich Semenenko ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Uganda.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Sergey Alekseyevich Bukin from his duties as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Uganda on his retirement.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON SHEVARDNADZE LATIN TOUR

Mexico's Spulveda Gives Speech

LD041033 Moscow TASS in English 1025 GMT 4 Oct 86

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Mexico City October 4 TASS -- Soviet Union's extension of its nuclear test moratorium until January next year can give an exclusively important impetus to another nations and facilitates the conclusion of an agreement banning the testing, Mexican Foreign Minister Bernardo Sepulveda has pointed out. He spoke on Friday at a dinner in honour of Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, currently on an official visit here. Noting that in the nuclear age problems of security, progress and cooperation of nations acquired special urgency and importance, the minister said:

"Not a single government should put up with persistent confrontation. The decision taken by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan to meet in Reykjavik gives rise to hopes for the revival of the real process of detente that would lead to constructive peace.

"Mexico links with the forthcoming meeting the possibilities for establishing a climate of trust and making progress toward agreements on the prohibition of the use of outer space for military purposes. My government is of the opinion that agreements banning chemical weapons and medium-range missiles should also be reached. This would promote to a significant degree the relaxation of tensions in Europe, as well as in other regions where the threat to international peace exists.

Political consultations between East and West, Sepulveda said, would undoubtedly have an important effect on the solution of many, but not all, regional conflicts. There were processes and political phenomena, he observed, which were following their own course and which had emerged as a result of serious economic deformations and social injustice. The latter applied to the situation in Central America. The point at issue was the right of the people living in the region to security and a free choice of the ways of national development.

Sepulveda emphasised that Mexico consistently favoured the need to maintain peace in the region. It insisted on the invariable respect for the Central American peoples' rights on the basis of the recognition of their sovereignty and without outside interference, on the peaceful settlement of differences at the negotiating table, and on the exclusion of these issues from the sphere of East-West rivalry.

Speaking on Soviet-Mexican relations, the minister said in conclusion:

"The principal of mutual respect has been asserted in our relations. We have implemented projects of economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation which take into account the peculiarities of both sides.

It is necessary to strengthen our ties in the future as well. We should develop cooperation that would take into account not only our present-day requirements, but also prospects for the future."

Shevardnadze Gives Reply Speech

PM071321 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS report of speech by Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze at 4 October [as published] dinner in Mexico City in his honor in reply to speech by Mexican Foreign Minister B. Sepulveda under the general heading "Visit to Mexico"]

[Text] Diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Mexico go back over 60 years, but much in those relations is now acquiring a new scale. Important and significant events are taking place.

During this afternoon's meeting with President de la Madrid of Mexico, we conveyed to him a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Our first visit to Mexico is designed to activate diplomatic contacts and broaden zones of cooperation in the interests of international peace and security and the deepening of friendly ties between our countries. The talks begun with you today, Mr Minister, confirmed both sides' striving for that.

We rejoice in this.

The unusual nature of the moment enables me to express my thoughts and feelings on my acquaintance with Mexico. Perhaps they are somewhat personal in character, but such thoughts and feelings are shared by many Soviet people.

We have had to travel a vast distance to reach you, but we have not had to bridge a gap in our knowledge of your beautiful country. A good and interested attitude to the Mexican people's life took root in our country long ago. Our people take their concerns to heart. In our country there are erudite connoisseurs of your unique ancient culture, its traditions and modern achievements. In my view this is something far greater than mere benevolence. I would call Soviet people's attitude to Mexicans the kindheartedness of true and sincere friends.

Each country's foreign policy is a mirror which reflects its character. Mexico's foreign policy reflects its people's desire for actions for people's general good.

We see your country's positive actions in many spheres of world politics and international relations, and they prompt our respect.

It is appropriate here to recall the Tlatelolco Treaty, formulated with Mexico's most active participation. This action led to a vast area of the globe becoming a nuclear-free zone.

Your country's activity in the Contadora Group has become a practical action in favor of strengthening peace. We regard its work as a kind of machinery for the settlement of regional problems. We should not be disappointed that there have been no practical results yet. No one knows how affairs in Central America would have materialized but for Contadora.

A vivid example of Mexico's contribution to resolving major security problems is provided by its activity within the group of six states and, in specific terms, by its active support for the demands for a complete ban on nuclear explosions.

Mexico's position regarding the steadfast observance of the norms of international law and the principles of the UN Charter is a principled one.

The identity of our two countries' views on the main processing occurring in the world is satisfying.

The USSR and Mexico share concern at the lack of real progress in the cause of nuclear disarmament, the prevention of the spread of the arms race to space, and many other problems.

One of the most acute problems is poverty and need in many countries. A substantial material base is needed to end that. The only realistic, fair, and most rational way to create it is to end the arms race and redistribute the resources thus freed in favor of the deprived nations.

We believe that our two states could cooperate actively to realize the concept of creating an all-embracing security system. A proposal on that score has been submitted to the United Nations and is being actively discussed there. Broad opportunities are opening up there for our parallel efforts. We have a common understanding of the need to achieve the full and universal elimination of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction.

The USSR and Mexico are Pacific Ocean states. M.S. Gorbachev's recent speech in Vladivostok expounded conceptual ideas on ways of strengthening security in the Pacific.

We think that on this issue, too, our cooperation with Mexico would be useful and would meet the interests of strengthening international stability.

We were glad to learn that the Mexican Government welcomes the accord on the meeting between the USSR and U.S. leaders in Reykjavik and supports the attainment of practical results at the Soviet-U.S. talks.

However much the opponents of detente try to divert attention from this event, it will remain central to international life. The central item on the agenda is the attainment of practical results in the sphere of nuclear and space arms. All states are interested in the practical effect of the meeting.

Such a broad sphere of mutual understanding creates the foundation for improving our bilateral affairs. On the whole they are developing well, but we would like to achieve more. There are untapped reserves in our trade and economic cooperation.

It is encouraging that both sides are expressing readiness for progress in this area, too.

The official part of our visit is not over. Tomorrow there will be talks with prominent Mexican statesmen and politicians.

Despite a tight work schedule our hospitable hosts went to great pains to show us as many of the Mexican people's relics and artistic and scientific assests as possible.

It is a pity, of course, that events do not permit us to remain longer in your warm and friendly company. But I do not think that this will be our last visit to Mexico.

With a hope of that in mind I should like to wish health and happiness to you, Mr Minister, and to you, Mrs Sepulveda.

Best wishes to all those present.

Arrives in Cuba, Met by Castro

LD052251 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 5 Oct 86

[Text] Havana October 5 TASS -- Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, has arrived here for a brief working visit at the invitation of the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba.

At Jose Marti Airport he was met by Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic; Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of Cuba and vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers; Jorge Risquet, member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign relations of the republic; and by other officials.

Discusses Upcoming Summit

PM071251 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 86 First Edition p 4

[Text] Havana, 6 Oct (TASS) -- Talks took place here between Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, [PCC] president of the Councils of State and of Ministers of the Republic, and Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, who came here on a short working visit. Taking part in them were, from the Soviet side: Aleksandr Kapto, member of the CPSU Central Committee, ambassador of the USSR to the Republic of Cuba; Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, deputy USSR Foreign minister; and Vladimir Kazimirov, chief of the First Latin American Department of USSR Foreign Ministry.

From the Cuban side -- Army General Raul Castro, Politburo member, second secretary of the PCC Central Committee, first vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers; Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Politburo member of the PCC Central Committee, vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers; Jorge Risquet, Politburo member and member of the Secretariat of the PCC Central Committee, and Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign relations of the Republic.

The talks have once again demonstrated the strengthening cooperation and friendship between the fraternal parties and peoples and the desire for a broad, all-round exchange of opinions on domestic and foreign policies issues of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba which are of mutual interest.

On behalf of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Eduard Shevardnadze conveyed fraternal greetings to Comrade Fidel Castro, the other members of the Cuban leadership and to the entire people of the island of freedom and wished them new successes in the construction of socialism.

The efforts to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and of the 3d PCC Congress were given a high assessment. They have aimed the Soviet and Cuban working people toward accelerated socio-economic development in both countries.

F. Castro and E. Shevardnadze exchanged information about the state of affairs in different areas of the national economy, culture, and science of the USSR and Cuba, noting a steady movement forward in all directions.

Both sides expressed the firm certitude in the fact that the tasks set by the congresses of the fraternal parties would be implemented successfully.

There was a detailed exchange of opinions on the situation in the world, key international problems, and about the Soviet Union's efforts aimed at achieving a decisive turn in world affairs. Particular attention was paid to issues connected with the implementation of the socialist countries' proposals to set up an all-embracing system of international peace and security. F. Castro was briefed in detail on the state of Soviet-U.S. relations. The sides emphasized the significance of M. Gorbachev's initiative to organize a working meeting with U.S. President Reagan to achieve progress on central problems of security.

At the Soviet-U.S. summit in Reykjavik the Soviet side intends to discuss first and foremost questions connected with preventing the arms race in space and limiting and reducing nuclear weapons to prepare a firm basis for achieving concrete agreements in this sphere.

F. Castro expressed full support for CPSU policy and the decision by the Soviet Government to make fresh efforts to give stimuli for solving questions of ending the arms race on earth and preventing it in space. He said a fruitful meeting with results between M. Gorbachev and the U.S. President would correspond to the interests and aspirations of all peoples.

Both sides expressed concern over the tension that remains in the world through the fault of imperialism and stressed the need for increasingly closer cooperation among the socialist countries in the struggle to implement in practice the program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, and other peace initiatives put forward by them.

The Soviet side again affirmed unchanging solidarity with the people of revolutionary Cuba, and with its just struggle against the imperialist policy of blackmail and threats. The new anti-Cuban actions of the United States which found expression in an intensification of the economic blockade of Cuba and implementation of propagandist subversions against her, were condemned.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership, support was expressed for the constructive foreign policy of Cuba demonstrated most fully at the recent Eighth Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Nonaligned Countries. The participants in the talks noted with satisifaction the movement's increasing contribution to the common struggle to avert a nuclear catastrophe, bridling the arms race, against the adventurist policy of imperialism in various regions of the world, and for the eradication of racism.

The sides decisively condemned the aggressive actions of the Republic of South Africa against Angola and other Frontline States, spoke in favor of immediately granting true independence to Namibia on the basis of the known United Nations resolutions, in favor of the soonest possible liquidation of the inhuman system of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, and for the introduction of broad and compulsory sanctions against the racist regime of Pretoria in keeping with the UN Charter.

Concern was expressed at the continuing aggravation of the situation in Central America. The sides condemned the new escalation of Washington's aggressive actions against the people of Nicaragua, and the attempts of the U.S. Administraton to block the efforts of Latin American countries in normalizing the situation in this region. The USSR and Cuba consider that the people of Nicaragua have an indisputable and inalienable right to determine their own fate and confirm their support for the constructive efforts of the Contadora Group and the support group in the search for a just political settlement in Central America.

The sides expressed themselves in favor of a radical restructuring of international economic relations which would assist the solution of the problem of the external debt of the developing countries and other problems that are placing a burden on world economic links.

They expressed mutual satisfaction at the state of Soviet-Cuban relations and their steady movement forward in all areas, and a desire to improve further in every way fraternal cooperation between our two countries in specific directions.

E.A. Shevardnadze thanked F. Castro for the warm and hearty welcome and wished the communists and the entire Cuban people success in socialist construction and in the defense of their revolutionary gains.

Fidel Castro conveyed communist greetings and best wishes to Mikhail Gorbachev, and all members of the Soviet leadership and wished the Soviet people success in implementing the strategy of accelerating the country's socio-economic development.

The meeting passed off in conditions of comradely mutual understanding and in an atmosphere of warmth and cordiality.

On the same day Eduard Shevardnadze departed for Moscow. At the Jose Marte International Airport the Soviet visitor was seen off by Fidel Castro, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Jorge Risquet, Isidoro Malmierca, and other officials. Among those who saw him off was Aleksandr Kapto, ambassador of the USSR in the Republic of Cuba.

Leaves Cuba After Talks

LD060430 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0350 GMT 6 Oct 86

[Text] Havana, 6 Oct (TASS) -- Talks have been held here between Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic, and E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR foreign minister, who has arrived here for a short working visit.

The talks again demonstrated the growing coooperation and friendship between the CPSU and the Cuban Communist Party. During the talks there was a detailed exchage of views on various questions of mutual interest.

Later in the day E.A. Shevardnadze left for Moscow. At the "Jose Marti" international airport he was seen off by Fidel Castro; and by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Cuban CP, deputy chairman of the Republic's State Council and Council of Ministers; Jorge Risquet, member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Cuban CP; and Isidoro Malmierca, the Republic's minister of foreign affairs. Also seeing him off was A.S. Kapto, the USSR ambassador to the Republic of Cuba.

Returns Home

LD061446 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 6 Oct 86

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS -- Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, today returned to Moscow from visits to the USA, Canada, Mexico and Cuba.

He was welcomed at the airport by Geydar Aliyev, a member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and other officials.

ARGENTINA'S ALFONSIN TO VISIT IN MID-OCTOBER

PM011059 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 86 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "On Upcoming Visit to USSR by President Raul Ricardo Alfonsin of Argentina"]

[Text] At the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government, President Raul Ricardo Alfonsin of Argentina will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in the middle of October this year.

CAPTURED U.S. CITIZEN AT MANAGUA NEWS CONFERENCE

LD080645 Moscow TASS in English 0631 GMT 8 Oct 86

[Text] Managua October 8 TASS -- A violation of Nicaraguan air space by a U.S. Air Force plane piloted by American servicemen has been further evidence of direct U.S. involvement in aggression against this country.

The air-pirate plane was shot down Sunday by a unit of the Sandinist Popular Army in Rio San Juan department near the border with Costa Rica. Three American pilots were killed and the other one, surviving the crash, was detained.

The man, U.S. national Eugene Hasenfus, admitted at a news conference here that he had been serving as a military adviser at a U.S. base in El Salvador and been a crew member of the aircraft which had been used to supply weapons and ammunition to counter-revolutionary gangs operating in Nicaraguan territory.

PRAVDA REPORTS GORBACHEV SOCIAL SCIENCES SPEECH

PM071424 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 86 Second Edition p 1

["Speech by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev" -- PRAVDA headline; this item front-paged by PRAVDA 2 October is described in a TASS report carried on pages 1-3 under the headline "Learning To Think and Act in a New Way" as the opening speech at the 1 October opening session in Moscow of the All-union Conference of Heads of Social Sciences Departments; capitalized passages between slantlines are published in boldface]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

I would first of all like to welcome you cordially on behalf of the party's Central Committee and to wish your conference success. We attach great significance to it.

The times demand initiative and creativity in all spheres of life. They have posed tasks which are unprecedented in terms of their novelty and scale and which must be resolved within the briefest historical span.

The Central Committee proceeds from the firm conviction that /THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COURSE OF ACCELERATION, OF RESTRUCTURING, AND OF ACHIEVING A QUALITATIVELY NEW STATE OF SOVIET SOCIETY IS INCONCEIVABLE WITHOUT THE GALVANIZATION OF IDEOLOGICAL-THEORETICAL ACTIVITY/, without reliable scientific support for the practical measures to improve the social relationships of developing socialism.

In their time Marx and Engels wrote that before the proletariat secures its victory at the barricades it proclaims the advent of its supremacy with a number of intellectual victories.

In terms of our own times, we can say that before we achieve a qualitatively new state of Soviet society we must secure major intellectual victories and substantial forward movement in the sphere of theory and in the creative interpretation of the new phenomena and processes of life.

Theory is essential not just for the long-term social and political orientation. It is necessary for literally our every step forward. Not a single major practical question can be resolved without its being theoretically interpreted and substantiated. Theoretical activity itself is becoming one of the most important motive forces of socialist and communist building, the most important instrument of restructuring.

Our theoretical thought must above all reveal more fully and profoundly the specific features of the modern stage of socialism and the individual stages of its achievement of a qualitatively new stage through the year 2000 and beyond. It is called upon to provide a scientifically objective picture of the contemporary world as a whole.

All these are difficult questions. Let us take just one of them. Our ideal is the comprehensive development of the individual [chelovek], which presupposes the increasingly full satisfaction of people's growing material and spiritual requirements. It is important here that material progress is accompanied by intellectual and moral acquisitions.

We know from experience: If the spiritual principle in the individual and in society declines, there is an inevitable intensification of consumer attitudes and of acquisitiveness, and the inner world becomes poorer. As we can see, the law of increased requirements does not operate simply and automatically. There is a problem here, and some problem it is. It must be resolved in the interaction of all factors in the individual's life and development.

The restructuring now developing levies a most crucial social demand on the entire system of social sciences. Our notions of the dialectics of productive forces and production relations, socialist ownership, cooperative work, the people's self-management, and democracy, of the development of social consciousness, of the causes and ways of surmounting negative phenomena, and much else besides -- these notions are in need of enrichment from the material of contemporary life.

The party is counting on the increasing contribution of economic science to our struggle for the development of productive forces, the application of advanced technologies, the qualitative improvement of production relations, and changed forms of management and administration.

Without this, acceleration is impossible, as is the "activation" of the main factor -- the human factor.

In short, the CPSU Central Committee sees the galvanization of the theoretical front as a most important task. This is an inalienable component of our strategy and an urgent and objective social demand. On this path there is much that needs to be abandoned and much that has to be begun anew.

What do I have in mind?

The programmatic documents of the 27th Congress and the recent CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" speak of the need to restructure social science. The fields of its problem studies and the specific paths and methods of such work have been charted. You will be discussing these issues here.

I would like to express my opinion on that score. Primarily, I believe, the changed role and significance of social science both within science as a whole and on the broader -- social and universal -- scale must be discussed. The profound, qualitative, revolutionary -- one might say -- changes under way in society demand not merely the restructuring of social science alone but also a number of substantial shifts in relation to social science on the part of the other sciences and indeed society as a whole.

It is clear that an acute, not always overt, but uncompromising struggle of ideas, psychological position, and styles of thinking and behavior is underway in the process of the restructuring and renewal of our life. The old is not yeilding without a fight; it is finding new forms of adaptation to the dynamics of life in various scholastic strategems. Moreover, attempts are sometimes made to include the very concepts "acceleration" and "restructuring" within the framework of obsolete dogmas and sterotypes, emasculating their novelty and revolutionary essence.

Today's processes must not be adapted to the old formulas. New conclusions reflecting the contemporary dialectic of life must be elaborated. This can only be done in an atmosphere of creativity. The quest for the truth must proceed through the comparison of diverse viewpoints, debate and discussion, and the breaking of the former sterotypes.

For this reason we speak with particular force of the need for the boldness and initiative in the promotion of new ideas. For this reason the party poses so acutely today the question of the "truth factor" [moment istiny], the question of the assertion of truth both in life and in the science which is called upon to study it and find sober and effective solutions for its problems. As Lenin emphasized, "The first duty of those who wish to find 'the ways to human happiness' is not to fool themselves, and to possess the boldness to acknowledge frankly /WHAT IS WHAT/."

The new thinking which everyone needs to master is dialectical thinking, and dialectics -- as Marx wrote -- "does not bow to anything and is by its very essence critical and revolutionary." This quality belongs to Marxism "entirely and unconditionally" (Lenin).

Social scientists are faced today with the task of surmounting the remoteness from the demands of life which has established itself. We urgently need the entire front of social science to effect a decisive turn toward practice. This is how our party congress posed the question. I am confident that this is the direction the work of your conference will take.

I would like merely to emphasize: Strengthening the link between theory and practice is not simply a general slogan. It is the key to the restructuring of social science and the principle of the work of scientists and teachers.

One more thing: Practice is the foundation of cognition and the criterion of truth. We learned this long ago; this is what you teach your students. But do we always take account of the fact that the link between theory and practice is a dialectical link. Theoretical tasks must not be detached from practical tasks, but nor should theory be replaced by the simple recording of facts. Theory must outstrip practice, grasp phenomena more broadly, look more deeply, and see "what has been concealed by time."

Science and theory are irreplaceable wherever and whenever the customary modes of action "do not work," where past experience and practical wit no longer provide the requisite counsel, where fundamentally new decisions and nonstandard actions are essential.

/WE ALSO NEED SCIENCE IN ORDER TO MOLD, EDUCATE, AND CULTIVATE THE ABILITY OF YOUNG PEOPLE TO THINK INDEPENDENTLY AND CREATIVELY.

I will say directly and frankly: The still extant organization and the forms and methods of social science teaching to a considerable extend facilitate that which we designate dogmatism and scholastics. The inclination to search among "truisms" for recipes suitable for all life's instances is born of pedantry, of reliance not on the creative working of thought but on the mindless rote-learing of general propositions.

/LENIN, AS WE KNOW, COUNTERPOSED THE PROCESS OF THINKING THINGS THROUGH TO ROTE-LEARNING AND CRAMMING/. But this is precisely what is frequently in short supply in social sciene teaching.

A paradoxical picture has emerged: What is most interesting and absorbing in modern scientific knowledge -- the individual and society, the laws of their development, the contradictions, the struggle of the classes, the building of the new world, mankind's pursuit of an ideal, spiritual quest and disappointments, the finding of truth, and the heroism of creation through labor -- /IS FREQUENTLY TRANSFORMED IN LECTURES, AND INDEED IN TEXTBOOKS TO SOMETHING BORING, BANAL, AND FORMAL/.

In this way the living soul is killed, along with the entire attractiveness of the emotional intellectuality of Marxism-Leninism, which represents the peak and the condensation of pulsating human thought which has absorbed all the wisdom and the pain and the colossal experience of the people of labor, and their hopes for a better future.

Today, when the party has exhorted us to think and work in the new manner, it is essential /TO A GREAT EXTENT TO BUILD THE PROCESS OF EDUCATION AND UPBRINGING TOO IN A NEW WAY/.

It is primarily a question of a creative approach, of the need to break the dogmatic methods and methodologies of social science teaching. It is necessary, dear comrades, to rebuild our curricula from scratch, to prepare new lectures, to renew our textbooks.

In short, it is necessary to turn once again to the dialectic, to its method of revealing the essence of one or other subject or phenomenon and developing thought and cognition through contradictions. This principle must be placed at the foundation of VUZ curricula and the methodologies of teaching the social sciences, which should exude the spirit of real life. It must become the main principle at seminar courses, where we need to cultivate more the capacity for independent judgment and the ability to conduct a scientific debate, wherefrom, as we know, emerges the truth. Dialogue not monologue -- this is the essential element of the truly creative process of molding and educating young people.

What we need is for young people's Marxist-Leninist convictions to be the result of profound reflection, of search and joyful find, and, if you like, of discoveries -- for themselves at least. Only then do convictions become inner convictions, personally realized convictions arrived at through suffering, which means that they are really solid and help one live and work.

In our time, a time of breakthrough, the question of the significance of social science teaching for molding a scientific world outlook arises in all its fullness. Are there new problems and tasks here? I think there are.

The growth in mankind's scientific and technical might, the exacerbation of global problems, the intensified threat to the existence of human civilization and even of life on earth itself as a consequence of the imperialist policy of militarism and aggression -- all this poses new world-outlook problems and obliges us to rethink the old ones.

The ability to orient oneself in the present complex, contradictory, but interdependent world is no gift of nature. Nor does one acquire it in passing, along with the mastering of special disciplines. Our future specialists must be taught this ability. For world outlook is not merely the aggregate of universal knowledge. It is simultaneously the perceived class interests and ideals, legal and moral norms, social priorities and humanist values -- everything that determines the choice of the individual's line of conduct in life, and his responsible approach to society and to himself.

Social science must in no way lose sight of the chief task -- to mold the spiritual foundations of the Soviet citizen's personality and his active civic stance, and to determine his actions.

Scientific and technical progress has increased immeasurably the technical might of mankind. A particle of this might is now being entrusted to the engineer, the designer, the scientist. How will he handle it, will he make the correct choice when the circumstances demand it?

This is the ultimate question. It undoubtedly depends on the specialists' world-outlook orientation, which means, comrades, it depends to a very great degree on your work.

What an enormous responsibility in training specialists lies on the shoulders of social science teachers!

The extent to which future engineers and agronomists, doctors and teachers can combine knowledge -- at the level of the highest achievements of modern science -- and professional competence with ideological conviction, political maturity, a high moral stance, and social activeness depends to a large extent on your educational and training work with the students.

Dear Comrades!

Our times not only levy high -- I would even say tough -- demands; they also provide a truly unprecedented opportunity for revealing one's gifts, for the practical application of capabilities and talents.

Matters must be arranged everywhere in such a way that people with enquiring minds, creative people marching in the vanguard of the restructuring process can breathe more easily, work more fruitfully, and live better. This applies to production, to science, to art; to all spheres of social activity.

In the course of headlong scientific and technical progress the intellectual, scientific potential is becoming society's most important resource, and one that is by its very nature inexhaustible. The resolution of the historic tasks of acceleration will depend greatly on the correct, assiduous, and efficient utilization of this potential. /VUZ SCIENCE/ is called upon to play an enormous role in its mobilization.

Approximately one-half of all scientists possessing science degrees and titles are employed in the higher education system. Is it possible, however, to say that they are making a contribution to scientific and technical progress and to social progress which is commensurate with the requirements of the times? Frankly speaking, no it isn't. VUZ science still owes a great debt to society.

I wish to remind you that the resolution of the comprehensive, large-scale, and long-term programs for our society's socioeconomic development is impossible without strengthening cooperation among the representatives of the social, natural, and technical sciences. Excessive, extremely narrow specialization and disregard for the achievements in other spheres of knowledge are now becoming a serious brake on the development of science itself, social science included. As in economics, in the sphere of science and education we need to decisively shatter the departmental barriers not only between VUZ, academic, and sector science but also within the very sphere of higher education itself, fragmented as it is into dozens of "departments."

All these and other questions must be posed and resolved more boldly, while concerning oneself primarily with the interests of the cause. [paragraph continues]

Then the restructuring of social science too will proceed more swiftly. Then the social sciences will become closer to the demands of life and practice. Then the teaching of social science will be more fruitful and effective.

The Central Committee places its hopes in you, and wishes you success in your difficult work which is so necessary for society. But we must improve our methods of work, and fundamentally at that, in order to be equal to the demands of the times.

We view optimistically the exceptionally complex large-scale tasks confronting us today: We must do all of this, we cannot not do this, we will without fail do this!

BURLATSKIY DIALOGUE ON RESISTANCE TO REFORM

PM060917 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Oct 86 p 10

["Polemical Dialogue on Restructuring" by Fedor Burlatskiy under the rubric "Implement the 27th CPSU Congress Decisions": "Conversation Without Equivocation" -- first paragraph is LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] Reflecting on urgent problems of the present, the author has chosen the polemical form of a dialogue between party workers -- Streshnev, who has been working in the oblast for a long time, and Shirokov, who has just been elected first secretary of the party obkom.

One of them was on his way out of the office, the other was on his way in. But this situation, natural when leaders change, involved something more significant than just the transfer of business from one person to another. The people sitting opposite each other in the party obkom first secretary's office were neither enemies nor rivals, but no longer friends either -- rather they were former friends who had gone their separate ways without saying everything they had to say and finishing their argument. They both understood that there would be no more opportunities to finish their discussion and their argument. Not after this, anyway... So now one of them had to be the first to start, and it was the one who still seemed to be the master, at least the master of things, of the situation, and of the papers written by him and lying on the desk.

Streshnev: Thank you for coming, Vasiliy Ramanovich. I did not really expect you, I though you would ignore my request. After the Bureau session... It is time for you to get used to this office, this is the one the first secretary always used, mine is next door. Excuse me for taking my time, I'll move tomorrow.

Shirokov: No hurry. I can wait.

Streshnev: How do you feel about some tea?

Shirokov: Tea? Sounds good.

Streshnev: Fine, let's have some tea. (Pause) How come that you, Vasya, said flatly at the session: "At his own request"? After all, you know that I've been slogging away here for 10 years, standing in for the first secretary and doing his job for the last 6 months. You didn't say a word, you didn't warn me, it was a bolt from the blue... It's not as if we are strangers: How many years have we known each other, from the gorkom, from the academy. Did you get carried away in the heat of the moment?

Shirokov: Maybe I did, maybe I didn't. I came here, Vanya, feeling good in the knowledge that you were here. There was someone to rely on... But the way you behaved at the Bureau session, the things you proposed -- well, excuse me... I was amazed, to say the least. You seemed like someone else. A different person.

Streshnev: But how did I fail to live up to your expectations? I greeted you properly and didn't show annoyance at not being kept on. Or is that not true?

Shirokov: From the personal angle, it seems to be. In this respect Ivan, I have no complaints about you.

Streshnev: Or were you given advice in Moscow, were some hints dropped about me? That I'm not right for the new situation?

Shirokov: They said to take a look.

Streshnev: Take a look... Did they only just notice!

Shirokov: Don't worry, there are no instructions about you.

Streshnev: What's the mattter, then? What made you get so het up? Was it that incident?

Shirokov: Incident?! That was the word you used at the session. A man's life was simply thrown away! A worthy, honored person. He survived the war. He worked for 40 years at the same plant. Then his life was thrown away!

Streshnev: No, he simply died. From a heart attack.

Shirokov: This must still be investigated. What did the prosecutor say? There are suspicions it was suicide.

Streshnev: Suspicions? So why did he keep silent before? He used never to open his mouth, but suddenly he began getting uppity, of all things.

Shirokov: Maybe he did, you're in a better position to judge. I still don't know him too well. But I can't understand why you took no notice of the note from the deceased.

Streshnev: And what was there in the note? Nothing special: "They have deceived me again..." Who? His daughter, who neglected the poor man, waiting for him to die so that she could get her hands on the dacha? Or am I supposed to have deceived him?

Shirokov: There was a lot of talk, a lot of promises were made, but then he was taken to court for starting to sell flowers without a permit.

Shreshnev: We needlessly dredged the question up at a Bureau session -- that was the mistake. We have 3 million people in the oblast. We can't deal with every single individual, it's just beyond us.

Shirokov: So that's it... Having learned to count in millions, how can you see a real person. But it is not just one old man -- two-thirds of gardeners were refused permits! They were banned from shipping vegetables outside the oblast. And half the vegetables rotted where they grew! The militia was sent in to smash the greenhouses on the plots. What is that?! Vandalism or thoughtlessness?

Streshnev: Come on now, vandalism! Our militia doesn't even know the meaning of the word. It operated according to the decree. True, maybe they went a bit too far, they need to be set right -- why make an issue out of it?

Shirokov: Set right? That is what we are doing, setting them right!... Why didn't you report the excesses [peregibi] to Moscow?

Streshnev: As if you didn't know why. So far as some people are concerned, they are excesses, so far as others are concerned, they aren't...

Shirokov: And the result is: You made no report, the next oblast refrained from doing so, and the result is a total distortion of the picture. And then we wonder how we come to produce slogans which are divorced from life and merely salve our consciences. We imagine that everything is invented at the top. What did you say at the bureau session? "Isolated instances have occurred..." You reported only part of the truth. As people say today, a half-truth. So is the other half a half-lie? And what does it all add up to? In simple terms -- deception or self-deception.

Streshnev: Why are you suddenly jumping from an isolated fact to such generalizations?

Shirokov: There are facts and facts. It was from an isolated fact -- a complaint by a Siberian peasant -- that Lenin learned a lesson: He abolished assessments and introduced tax in kind.

Streshnev: What's the lesson you and I must learn from the present excesses?

Shirokov: What lesson? (Pause.) At the session the prosecutor spoke about your telephone call -- you said to emphasize the family circumstances which brought the invalid to such an end. Is that true?

Streshnev: He is lying, lying, the pen-pusher! I did telephone him, true enough. But I demanded a comprehensive investigation. Comprehensive!

Shirokov: Is he lying? Or are you used to leading him on a string? By the way, why was there a ban on the newspaper writing about this case?

Streshnev: It is not part of our traditions to give coverage to various suicides. As if you didn't know yourself.

Shirokov: That is an incorrect position, or tradition, as you call it. I am sure that such a press item would encourage the organs of justice to investigate the case in depth and would undoubtedly meet with public support -- people want publicity, publicity in everything!

Streshnev: What about the decree, then? How is it to be understood? It tells us to combat easy money.

Shirokov: Easy money... Do you know what kind of flowers I was told this gardener was growing -- the rarest ones. He traveled to the Caucasus, the Crimea. He grew greenhouse gydrangeas in our region, a new variety. The city had never seen such flowers before.

Streshnev: You think he was an inoffensive old man. He grows his little flowers, then sells them. For how much, though? Did you try to find out? You wouldn't get a hydrangea for 50 kopeks. You wouldn't even get one for 3 rubles.

Shirokov: What is to be done then?

Streshnev: What? Ban it -- that's all.

Shirokov: What I'm asking is: What's to be done about flowers?

Streshnev: Flowers?

Shirokov: Yes. Are we to leave the city without flowers? People want to have flowers. They want early cucumbers, tomatoes, fruit. They want good meat and plenty of it, fresh bread of different types. You say that the price is high, but who's to blame?

Streshnev: Everyone knows who -- the speculator is to blame.

Shirokov: No, Ivan, you are I are also to blame. Why are the prices at the market high? Because of inadequate supplies, shortages. And why are there shortages? Because of your bans, the restrictions on individual and even cooperative activity. If the oblast had 100 flower growers instead of just one, the price of flowers would drop to about 10 kopeks. That is the law of economic competition. But you attacked the older flower grower.

Streshnev: All right. We made a blunder with the old man. The situation regarding permits must be put right. But is it just for this that you want to get me, your old friend, into trouble?

Shirokov: Is the issue as narrow as that? Just tell me, what have you accomplished here recently? Just name anything substantial in the obkom's work. After all, 18 months have passed since the Central Committee April Plenum. You are still failing to fulfill the plans. We are not producing enough industrial goods, we are still fighting shortages... There are also problems with food. The stores have only bread, groats, and sugar. Meat supplies are irregular and vegetables are hardly to be seen...

How many new cooperative stores, service workshops, or public dining rooms have you set up in the last 18 months -- 1,000, 100, 10?

Streshnev: Just why are you going on at me? We did not deal with all this. There were no instructions. Why jump the gun? In fact, frankly speaking, I somehow don't see major changes in neighboring oblasts. Big ideas, but hardly any progress.

Shirokov: Come on, Ivan, stop it, at least don't deceive yourself. [paragraph continues]

I listened to the speeches by you people at the Bureau session and, to be honest, my impression was that I had gone 5 years back in time. Can't you feel what people want, what they value in a leader? Honest and frank discussion of the main and most urgent matters, not reading from a prepared text but talking in a human way, without any taboo subjects or areas closed to criticism.

Streshnev: Very well, say we have brought all these sore points out into the open, everyone knows about them -- housing, the shortages of goods, and the inadequate food supplies -- what then? We'll only hand out promises on all sides. What will be the outcome? Nothing will change, and we will only have rocked the boat.

Shirokov: Once again, you are fundamentally wrong. This is an old argument, we had it way back in the academy, and we were not the only ones: Should problems be brought out into the open or concealed? There are two positions, two approaches. If you have brought a problem out into the open, you have started to solve it. If you have concealed a problem, you have refused to solve it, you are afraid to even think about it, or you are simply indifferent to human needs.

What I'd like to know, though, is how you yourself do your shopping.

Streshnev: How? Like everyone else.

Shirokov: Really like everyone else!

Streshnev: Well, not quite, but I use the ordinary store. My wife places an order, then they deliver.

Shirokov: And why don't you go to the store yourself?

Streshnev: Go myself? Once again you try chasing around here in my position you'll see whether you have a moment left to run around the stores...

Shirokov: Well, running or not, it would do you no harm to actually call in there. Then you'd see for yourself the difference between the products delivered to you packed in your box and those on the open shelves.

Streshnev: I know all that. I hear reports almost every day, about food stocks, and also about the market.

Shirokov: If you hear reports, why do you tolerate this, and how long are we going to tolerate it?

Streshnev: Would you then have us encourage the private money-grubbers? Do you know how much a butcher makes in the market per day? About R150 -- that's how much!

Shirokov: And have you caught this butcher?

Streshnev: No, not yet.

Shriokov: But the old man was caught. And do you know why? Because the old man was an easy catch -- he was a working person; the butcher is difficult to catch -- he is a thief. [Paragraph continues]

What is the result? The result is a complete distortion of the decree. So tell me: How many millionaires are there in the oblast?

Streshnev: Has anyone counted them?

Shirokov: Yes. I received a report from the chief of the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department. There are nineteen. As for those who have hundreds of thousands, no one can count them. Their webs spread in all directions and no one knows where they lead... You speak of easy money. But who do you go for? The sparrow, not the hawk. The gardener, the kolkhoz member selling from his private plot. Right?

Streshnev: I suppose so.

Shirokov: Yet they all work, they work in the evenings, on Saturdays and Sundays, they spend their vacations on that. But who is most deeply mixed up in unearned incomes? People know who. First of all, there are those who are in positions in which they have responsibility for material assets, and such people, you know, are not only to be found in the trade network... Then there are the officials in organs of power whom they bribe. I think that this is the source of the excesses.

Streshnev: Well, there can be no question about these swindlers and bribe-takers. Move them all to other jobs -- and there's an end to it.

Shirokov: But there is a question. Some people have adapted to living within the loopholes of the system. The ground must be cut out from under their feet. That ground is shortages. This is precisely where we need the cooperative, family, and individual forms of economic activity which you denounced at the Bureau session.

Streshnev: But why rely on what are not state forms?

Shirokov: Why should the state be made to shoulder all the so-called small enterprises -- hairdressers' salons, street trade, repair workshops? The state has plenty of other tasks. If it still can't fully supply us with food and services, wider use must be made of people's initiative and independent activity.

Streshnev: They'll get rich. I don't like this. Nor will others like it, I believe.

Shirokov: You can't let feelings guide you in politics. If it is advantageous to the consumer and the producer, let them earn more, under financial control of course.

Streshnev: But why should we encourage personal enrichment? Our way is to develop social funds and invest money primarily there.

Shirokov: Here too there is a problem which must be studied. Just look: Who is studying at the best universities? There are lots of "telephone scholars," so called because they've been admitted as the result of telephone calls. But, oh how difficult it is for a new Lomonosov from Maritime Kray to get a place there! Take other benefits for example, like vacations or medical treatment. Are they always dependent on personal contribution? More often than not they depend more on which department you belong to... Everyone can understand differences in pay. But the distribution of the public pie requires scrupulous fairness.

Streshnev: When I listen to you, Vasiliy, I wonder which of us has lost touch with real life.

Shirokov: What do you mean, lost touch... I've just come back from my mother's, I went to visit her in her small village. I didn't ask for a car at the raykom, I thought I'd make my own way. I stood there, trying to hitch a lift. Next to me were meek old women [starushki -- bozhi oduvanchiki] and mothers with their children. They waved at trucks, but they roared by -- they were empty, by the way, and traveling in the same direction. I stopped one of them and asked: Why don't you take the women and children? It's not allowed, he said, it's profiteering. Well, I told him, give them a free ride. There came the reply: I would, but no one would believe I did it for free. I suddenly thought: How come thousands of young people hitch rides all over Europe? They stick out their thumb -- and they get driven to another city, even to another country. What about us, do we treat each other worse? Yet ours is a collectivist society.

Streshnev: But there is no reason to go on about this, either -- old women, children... You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs.

Shirokov: Eggs. That gardener -- an egg, the old women -- eggs..., the children too... Cogs and wheels rather than living people... I look at you and I think to myself: Where did we acquire such indifference toward people? Is it a product of our time? Was it the time that brought out and cultivated selfishness and cupidity? Jubilees. Handouts. First come first served, with the more brazen ones really gorging themselves and ending up with titles, bonuses, awards, apartments for their relatives, dachas for them, and trips for their children to decadent foreign countries... As for the problems -- why bother the chiefs? They were not reported, nothing was written about them -- as though the problems didn't exist. But they accumulated and grew. I read about all this in Astafyev's "Sad Detective" [Pechalnyy Detektiv], in Rasputin's "Fire" [Pozhar]. Maybe they lay it on a bit thick -- they are writers, after all -- but I do feel that it is a cry from the heart, as if I personally were to blame for something.

Streshnev: We're not to blame, Vasiliy. Soviet power has given people everything. But how have they responded? How many of them still drink, steal, work any old way?

Shirokov: Soviet power... has given them... But it is they who are Soviet power.

Streshnev: And how about us, what are we?

Shirokov: Us? We are organizers, leaders. Much depends on the overall organization of affairs -- people understand this. This is where we are accountable. How are we going to boost the oblast? What do you suggest?

Streshnev: I think that first of all it is necessary to impose discipline and stricter exactingness, including expulsions. Then matters will improve.

Shirokov: So that's why you attacked the gorispolkom chairman: "I'll chase you out of the party, you'll pay with your party card!"

Streshnev: Is that what you thought? We talk and talk about restructuring... But I can't make any sense out of it all -- what do they want from me? [paragraph continues]

Do I have to turn myself inside out, or what? This is how I understand it: We must step up exactingness. No matter who is involved. Whoever you are, an ispolkom chairman, a raykom secretary, or a combine director, you'll be held strictly responsible. Who is to blame for the excesses? Who is responsible for supplies? The chairman is!

Shirokov: And how about you or me -- are we just on the sidelines?

Streshnev: What do you mean, just on the sidelines? I used to be home by nine o'clock, now it is not before ten, and sometimes even eleven, and I never have a Saturday free.

Shirokov: Has there been much benefit from all that sitting in the office?

Streshnev: How do you like that! After all, I don't just play games in the office! And to come back to the chairman, it is high time he was replaced. He did nothing but dance attendance on the former first secretary. His deputy is a different matter, an independent fellow!

Shirokov: We shall see. As the saying goes, look before you leap... Cadres are the primary matter! As for who danced attendance on whom... The first secretary chose people of his own ilk...

Streshnev: But I was recommended by Moscow. You didn't want to return here after defending your thesis, and I had to slog along here almost on my own.

Shirokov: True enough, I had no desire to work with him.

Streshnev: Just imagine what it was like for me under him. Do you recall the saying: If you're the chief, I'm a fool; if I'm the chief, you're a fool? So, one had to twist and turn to lessen the impact...

Shirokov: Lessen the impact... Another buffer! Everyone is well aware what things were like for you under him. Was it for no reason that he put you up for a prize? Out of the kindness of his heart?

Streshnev: For no reason! Say whatever you like, he was a good man.

Shirokov: Good to whom -- that is the question. Good to you people, to those who, so to speak, served him personally... But what happened to the oblast? Good! Such goodness would be worse than theft!

Streshnev: But you are reproaching me over nothing. I was not after the prize, the plant submitted me. I'm an engineer. I worked with the metallurgical design bureau on the introduction. I published a brochure...

Shirokov: We've heard about your brochure. People are laughing: 20 years after! Four 5-year plan periods after he left production. Who are we kidding, Ivan Petrovich? What is the worth of a prize obtained in such a fashion? Yet it really costs our party honor dear. We are in people's eyes, and they see everything, they pass judgment on everything. They are particularly strict with us party workers. If you stumble once or twice you hve undermined trust. Both in you and in the obkom.

Streshnev: Undermined trust... What about yourself? What was your main point at the Bureau session? Lack of self-criticism, no publicity, decisionmaking behind closed doors... How did people understand this? Did you notice from their speeches? As a signal to attack me, that's how! It is on me that you are turning this publicity, on me... So what's new? It's always happened: A new leader comes to the oblast, and the old one is pilloried. The people got used to that a long time ago. He's called a new broom. It's easy against the old leader, but are you ready to allow such publicity against yourself?

Shirokov: If I am not ready, life will teach me. I am no Solomon, either. I see nothing to be afraid of personally here.

Streshnev: Nothing to be afraid of, of course: Sticks and stones may break my bones, but names will never hurt me. But organizational decisions are made immediately, that's the frightening point. As you did with me -- "at his own request..." Maybe I had no "own request." Did you ask me? A new wave is coming. It's not the first, it won't be the last. These waves come and go, you and I have seen enough of them...

Shirokov: But we must work together, Ivan. How are we to work if you are pulling in the other direction, clinging tooth and nail to the old ways? The obkom can't pull in two directions at the same time.

Streshnev: In two directions? I got along at work with such a first secretary, will I not get along with you? You can rely fully on me...

Shirokov: I would rely on you, only... There you were, singing the praises of the deputy ispolkom chairman. I bet he too is trying to ingratiate himself with you. I've heard you two are very chummy -- you go hunting and fishing together.

Streshnev: A whispering campaign -- now you listen to me! What has hunting to do with it? Who is to be promoted if not the deputies? They've been schooled, they've accumulated experience. Some of them have been stuck in the same post for ages but they still continue to carry the entire burden. Who else, if not they?

Shirokov: I'm not convinced that they are the only ones. We must give this matter some serious thought, decide who is worth what. It was not every first secretary who ran the risk of appointing a strong personality under himself; or don't you know how cadres were selected here? Of course, there are quite a few intelligent people among the old workers. But I'm convinced that the new policy will demand new people, people with initiative, willing to run risks, talented in their work, but such people are quite often inconvenient, intractable. Isn't this why it was mainly mediocrities, people who won't run themselves off their feet and won't create ripples, who were relied upon?

Streshnev: Does this mean you're goning to carry out a cadres shakeup [peretryakhivat kadry]? Do I understand you correctly?

Shirokov: Shakeup! What's that -- you've dug up a word from the old party history! A shakeup means a meaningless switch. What we need are people capable of getting down to work in the new fashion.

Streshnev: And what wdoes "in the new fashion" mean? What is it?

Shirokov: Let me tell you a parable, Ivan.

Streshnev: A sensible one?

Shirokov: Sensible or silly, judge for yourself. Once upon a time, the animals got together to build a bridge across a river. Every animal made his suggestion: The elephant wanted it wider, the fox steeper, the hare wanted to be able to dodge about. They discussed things and laid down the law. Suddenly the donkey raised his hoof from the back row: Before worrying about what kind of a bridge to build, he said, we must solve a fundamental question -- How do we build it, across the river or alongside it?

Streshnev: What's the moral? Turn everything topsy-turvy?

Shirokov: We won't be building a bridge alongside the river, but traditions must be looked at with a fresh eye -- there is your moral! That is how restructuring begins, people shake out their entire baggage. Spiritual, moral, and political. Conscience serves as the fuse.

Streshnev: That's rather vague... worthy of Dostoyevskiy... Take me for example -- what do I have to restructure? Not take bribes -- I've never taken them in my life, just as I refused various souvenirs like Japanese radios. Go to the store personally -- fair enough, I'll do it. Not get my daughter into the institute -- very well, I won't. Issue permits to all dacha-owners -- whenever you please. Will you approve of me then, or will you still find something in me that needs restructuring?

Seriously, though, how do you understand this restructuring? For you personally?

Shirokov: Is it still incomprehensible, even after so many explanations?

Streshnev: You're always on at me, as if I alone represent the old style. What did you say at the Bureau session -- "It will be necessary to replace all who are barriers to restructuring." Is that it, then -- get me out of the way, and the new style will immediately triumph. It used to be Ivan's style, now it will be Vasiliy's style. That is the extent of the renewal. It looks as though I use the prosecutor and the ispolkom chairman to get out of trouble, you use me. Is there any difference?

Shirokov: Difference? You are an obkom secretary. Restructuring. Acceleration. The party does not use these words lightly. They are addressed primarily to us -- to me, to you, to the party workers. If we get down to work -- there will be restructuring; if we don't -- everything will be just words. What I've seen here is a wall. This wall cannot be bypassed, it will have to be demolished.

Streshnev: Demolition is not building, it's easy to demolish. But I'm still waiting for an answer about style. Take the two of us, for example: We did party work together, studied at the same academy. What was it that you realized, what was it that I failed to grasp?

Shirokov: What did I realize?... Of course, your question is not simple...there is no immediate answer... Well, in the first place, I realized that the new style will have to be fought for. Resistance will have to be overcome -- this is inevitable.

Streshnev: Is it my resistance by any chance? Do I resist?! For heaven's sake, in 20 years of party work I've got used to rigorously carrying out any instructions. But in order to carry them out you must understand what specifically has to be done, how you should work in the future -- this is the crunch! Nor am I alone in this -- you heard speeches from the leadership: There are many who don't understand.

Shirokov: Don't understand, or don't want to understand? Because they have to demolish themselves, and that is the most difficult demolition. What did I realize? Yes perhaps the main point is this: It is necessary to put an end to extraordinary methods, orders, instructions, and downright bureaucratic administration. People were summoned to obkom bureau sessions and carpeted -- and headway had been made. That is how it was for many years, for many decades. Maybe there was no other way. Times were extraordinary -- the Civil War, then industrialization by extraordinary methods, the same with collectivization, and finally the Great Patriotic War -- everything was at stake. Much time has passed, but we still have not got rid of these extraordinary measures. Sowing campaigns, harvest campaigns, students, school pupils, and scientists in the fields, rush work at enterprises in the last 10 days of the month, permanent turmoil as regards supplies and pledge fulfillment.

Streshnev: Very true, you are right -- who can dispute all this? But let me tell you this: Much has been built on deception and self-deception. When I arrived here I too wanted to impose order, but later I understood: You'd barely scratch the surface! Take our leading kolkhoz for example, famous all over the country, people come from all over to study its experience, the pride of the oblast. But the reality is forgery and overreporting. They concealed hundreds of hectares of land to boost apparent yields. The result was orders, banners, honors. What was to be done? I started fighting it. But the first secretary made me see reason: Do you want to strike a blow against the whole oblast? While the neighbors boast successes and overfulfillments? That's when I realized: This monster [makhina] cannot be shifted, it can only be rocked. But for us to rock it would serve no purpose, it would be extremely dangerous. And so it will be with you, Vasiliy. You'll cause a bit of a stir, you'll smash a few things up, you'll disrupt a few lives, and afterwards everything will get back into the old rut. So let's move as we've always done -- gradually gathering pace.

Shirokov: It won't work! The time won't let us do that. Haven't you heard? Either we rush forward, or we'll be left behind and crushed [nas somnut].

Streshnev: How could I not have heard? No question about it. But what levers are to be sued, what methods of leadership?

Shirokov: Everything should be based on people's interest and their solicitous attitude toward matters rather than on edicts and commands. New technology is the death sentence for old methods and all bureaucratic administration. How can you force anyone to invent more, to think better, to work more efficiently? You remember, of course Hamlet's words: If you are not interested, you have no interest. There are various interests -- prestige, material benefits, even ambition.

We must think on a large scale. Many things must be looked at in a new fashion. Take self-management in collectives for example. While I was on vacation I reread Lenin, his last works. What bold ideas he put forward after "war communism"! The cooperative system, for example. The idea came as an illumination, as a way to socialism, and note, not only in the countryside but also in the cities.

The cooperative system is one form of self-management. Just listen now to what the public is saying -- about self-financing moviemaking associations, about cooperative publishing houses, about financially autonomous sports clubs. Collective contracts, financial autonomy, fair remuneration for individuals' contribution, initiative, justified risk, and talent, in short, economic self-management is knocking on the door on all sides.

Streshnev: Is this cooperative socialism?

Shirokov: Why cooperative? Cooperatives are only a small portion of a vast economy being switched to the tracks of financial autonomy. Of course, bureaucrats are unwilling to contemplate this prospect: They'll have to share their power. It will be impossible to continue working in the old way.

Streshnev: I was waiting for you to clap that label on me...

Shirokov: What did you think? After all, you want to personally tell people everything: How to work, how much to earn, where to live... What do you call this?

Streshnev: I find all this strange. I'm not used to it. Maybe I really have been a stick-in-the-mud in some respects, maybe I have become bogged down in petty routine, in resolutions, in speechifying. The grain plan, the meat plan! Refrigerators, cement! You have to make time for everything. You know, there is no time for reflection: Everything must get done on time.

Shirokov: That is the whole point, the fact that we are all up to our necks in petty routine. But an obkom must think about the long term, about the strategy of its region's development. Who'll do this if not the obkom? That's why the obkom is there, to think and to decide.

Streshnev: We did decide, how else! And not so badly, either. But your proposals mean a retreat from our gains.

Shirokov: A retreat? Where?

Streshnev: A retreat from our principles.

Shirokov: Where did you find these principles?

Streshnev: How do you mean, where? They are an elementary truth of Marxism.

Shirokov: Elementary: Find it for me then. Show me the volume and page in the works of Marx or Lenin. You see, people have got this idea that everything done by the state is good and everything done by society is bad. The state drives you around in a car, uses up gasoline, pays for your personal driver -- this is good. If you personally sit behind the wheel -- this is bad, suspicious. And so on... Let me tell you, Ivan, we were taught the wrong thing by Baroptarlo, that dried-up guy, you must remember him -- a short bald man who lectured in political economy?

Streshnev: How could I forget him! He gave me maximum marks in the examination, and he picked on you for an unscientific presentation of the question.

Shirokov: On yes, unscientific. Even then I suspected he was misinterpreting Lenin.

Streshnev: How was he misinterpreting him?

Shirokov: He concealed from us one simple idea: Lenin himself did not stand still, but accumulated new ideas from the experience of life. But Baroptarlo fed us nothing but quotations from the "war communism" times -- rations, direct confiscations, prohibitions, enthusiasm without material interest. As for commodities, money, value -- those were nothing but abberations of capitalism.

Streshnev: So, you've discovered a new Lenin, have you?

Shirokov: You can wipe that grin off your face! It was not I but the 27th Congress that brought us back to understanding many of Ilich's most important behests. The time of the command economy has long gone.

Streshnev: What do you mean, command economy?

Shirokov: It's this. An economy based on orders, on goading, instead of on interest. How did Peter I develop the economy? By decree. He issued a decree -- cast iron and make guns. They started casting iron and making guns. This may have been quite appropriate for the time. But now it's disgraceful to work in this fashion, and also inefficient.

Streshnev: I listen to you, and I can't understand: Do you really reflect the [official party] line? Do people in Moscow really think like this? Self-management, you say, and independence -- what are we going to do then?

Shirokov: Then, we will decide the most important issues. Policy, coordination of the activity of all management links, cadres, training, education, propaganda -- there's plenty to do!

The most important thing is social justice and democracy -- it is primarily for the sake of these that our people accomplished the revolution and endured every trial. Have you heard how urgently the question of the development of democracy is now being raised? Here too we must draw the most serious conclusions at local level. We must not simply repeat that there can be no socialism without democracy, but to put this into practice -- in every party organization, in every labor collective, at every meeting, in every important decision. There will be little point if there is restructuring only among us, the leadership link; what is needed is restructuring for everyone, at every work place, in other words for everybody. Then there will be no turning back.

Streshnev: Well, I've listened to you carefully, Vasiliy, and this is what I have to say. Just don't get upset. Nothing will come of all this, nothing!

Shirokov: Why not?

Streshnev: There is a simple argument. This is the third time in our lives that we've tackled these questions. The first time was after Stalin's death. Do you remember, we were students then. We spoke of nothing but reforms, democracy, social self-management. [paragraph continues]

What happened?... The second time was in 1965, when the Central Committee plenum announced the launch of the economic reform. And again nothing. Everything vanished as though it had never existed, as if swallowed by quicksand. But why? That is something to ponder -- why?

Shirokov: What's the conclusion you draw from these examples?

Streshnev: This is not our way. It contradicts the whole system.

Shirokov: So that's your opinion -- not our wayt?... Here's what I think: The fact that we have attempted reforms on several occasions itself proves their inevitability. At the time there wasn't enough daring or political will. Now the will exists.

Contradictions, you say... But what contradicts what -- that is the question! It contradicts your methods, and you present them as the methods of the whole system. Don't frighten us, Ivan, don't frighten us... The time of fear has gone. The time of action has come. (Tense pause.)

I had a phone call from Moscow, I was told you've asked to be moved to a different oblast. Is that true, Ivan Petrovich?

Streshnev: There was a time. But I didn't ask, just put out feelers...

Shirokov: Well, this simplifies things. Maybe not at your "own request," we'll have to go our separate ways. You and I won't be able to work together. No, we won't. Let's inform the Central Committee accordingly.

Streshnev: Then I'll tell you one last thing, Vasiliy: It's still not clear whose side is going to win [Eshche neizvestno, chya vozmet]!

Shirokov: Well, thanks, Ivan, you've taken a weight off my mind; I still had my doubts: Am I treating my former friend correctly? Now I see I am. It's not my doing, Ivan Petrovich. It's not I but the time that has presented you with a harsh account. If you can come to terms with this new time, take your chance -- you'll be able to do some work, if not here then somewhere else. If you can't come to terms with it -- say goodbye to party work, but I'm afraid it will be forever.

YELTSIN PRESENTS AWARDS TO GOVERNMENT, TU WORKERS

LD052329 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Oct 86

[Text] A group of party, local soviet, trade union and Komsomol workers in Moscow, workers in the capital's people's control bodies and at the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA publishing house have been awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union for fruitful work in the 11th 5-Year Plan. The presentation of the USSR state awards took place today.

Comrade Yeltsin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, warmly congratulated the recipients after presenting the orders and medals.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS FOR 1-5 OCT REPORTED

LD060354 [Editorial report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 1-5 October. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

1 October

Grain harvesting has been completed in the Kokchetav Oblast of Kazakhstan. Barley and wheat have been threshed on the area of 2.63 million hectares. (0900)

Turkmen farms have harvested 400,000 metric tons of cotton so far and almost 1 million metric tons still remain to be harvested. (0900)

Sugar beet and potato lifting is ending in Moldavia, and 700,000 hectares of land has already been prepared for new crops. (Moscow Television Service in Russian) (1130)

Bashkir farmers have handed over 3 million metric tons of grain to the state, the largest quantity ever. This is 650,000 metric tons more than planned. Increased socialist pledges have thereby been fulfilled. The harvest is a good one. On one state farm, winter rye of the morning star variety produced a yield of 68.5 quintals -- a record in the country. The grain has been difficult to gather. Harvesting started more than a week late. Unsettled weather could have resulted in substantial losses, so additional manpower was brought in by the obkom to help with the harvest. (1200)

Threshing of grain was completed in Pavlodar Oblast today. Harvesting started late because of the late ripening of grain crops. Nevertheless the grain was brought in from the fields before the onset of damp autumn weather. Plowing of fields that have been harvested has begun. Thorough weeding was carried out first. (1200)

The soya harvest is gathering pace in Amur Oblast, where this valuable crop occupies the largest area in the country. On many farms in southern and central districts of the oblast, the soya yield is much higher than planned thanks to good weather and intensive methods. (1200)

Processing of the new sugar beet harvest has started in Lithuania. (2304)

2 October

Grain harvest in Kurgan Oblast -- the harvest is being completed in difficult weather conditions. There is constant rain and snow. Combines have been fitted with caterpillar tracks and are being towed by tractors. Farmers have decided to sell the state 1.5 million metric tons of bread grain. (1400)

Rice harvesting is under way in Krasnodar Kray. More than one half of the total acreage amounting to 160,000 hectares by now has been done. (1500)

Bashkir farmers have sold 3 million metric tons of grain to the state. This is 650,000 metric tons more than envisaged in the plan. Over half the total is wheat, and of this, 40 percent is of firm and hard varieties.

Flax harvesting has been completed in Lithuania earlier than last year, and the gross yield has increased by 10 percent, compared to last year. (1900)

Voronezh Oblast has sent its 1 millionth metric ton of beet off for processing. (2105)

3 October

Harvesting in Kazakhstan's virgin land region is in its final stage. Today threshing began on the final 500,000 hectares. Cold weather greatly slowed down crop ripening and there is now heavy rain and snow in places. (0900)

To date 200,000 metric tons of grain have been procured of the 270,000 metric tons laid down by the plan target in Kirghizia. Talas and Naryn Oblasts and most rayons in the Chuy valley have fulfilled the annual plan. Corn for grain has started arriving at elevators from southern rayons in the republic. (2004)

Over 3, million metric tons of grain have been harvested and stored and granaries from Omsk Oblast, mostly strong and valuable varieties of wheat. (2230)

The 150,000th metric ton of cotton of valuable varieties has been procured since picking began -- one-half of the harvest planned for this season -- in the republic of Tajikistan. (2230)

Soya harvesting is being completed on the first half of area under the crop in Amur Oblast.

4 October

The grain producers of Tselinograd Oblast are continuing their above-plan sales of grain to the state. So far, over 2.3 million metric tons have reached the elevators. (0304)

Kustanay Oblast in Kazakhstan today started selling the fourth million metric ton of grain to the state. The grain is mainly wheat of the strong and hard varieties. (1100)

Potato lifting is near completion in Belorussia but there is shortage of well-equipped storages throughout the country and, as a result, farms have to store twice the amount of seed potato they actually need as half of it will be wasted. Mass harvesting of sugar beet is under way. Altay bread-grain growers have carried out fall plowing on over 3 million hectares. In Leningrad Oblast about 2.5 million metric tons of fodder have been laid into storages. (1200)

Cheboksary Oblast has so far sold more than 1.2 million metric tons of grain to the state. (1500)

5 October

Tuva has so far produced 200,000 metric tons of wheat, barley and oats. (0100)

By the end of today, Uzbekistan will have harvested 2 million metric tons of cotton so far. There are marked differences in harvest performance between the various oblasts. (0304)

There are concerned reports about the progress of the harvest in Turkmenistan. The cotton-growers are working clearly below their capabilities.

The pace of the harvest is hampered through lack of equipment. Of 10,000 cotton harvesting machines only a little more than 6,000 are operating. The cotton-growers have to hurry up to fulfill by 15 November the plan and obligations on raw-cotton sales, which means procuring 1,350,000 metric tons of it. (1200)

Video report from Lipetsk Oblast where sugar beet harvesting is proceeding -- 1 million metric tons of sugar beet from the oblast has been procured. (1530) (Moscow Television Service in Russian)

REGIONAL GRAIN PROCUREMENT SUCCESSES REPORTED

PM031157 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian October 1986 First Edition carries on page 2 under the headline "The Record Is Not the Limit of the Reserves: Postscript on the Harvest in the Kuban," an article by correspondent K. Aksenov, who writes from Krasnodar Kray. Aksenov reports on the progress of winter crop sowing in the Kuban and notes that "3.6 million metric tons of grain have been laid in at the state granaries and 650,000 metric tons of excellent grain have gone to the elevators in exchange for mixed feed."

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 October 1986 front-pages two reports under the general headline "Grain for the Motherland."

One report is an unattributed article entitled "Overcoming Difficulties," datelined Smolensk, 30 September. It notes that "farms in Smolensk Oblast have fulfilled the plan for the sale of grain to the state. More than 217,000 metric tons of grain have been delivered to the reception centers. The harvest here was conducted in difficult weather. During August and September, precipitation was considerably higher than the perennial norms."

The second report, datelined Barnaul, 30 September, is entitled "For the Pledge Account" and is by correspondent A. Torichko. He notes:

"The third million metric ton of grain has been laid in at the state granaries in the Altay. The plans for the sale of winter rye and durum and strong wheat have been considerably overfulfilled."

TERNOPOL OBLAST EXCEEDS GRAIN SALES PLAN

PM032132 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 27 Sep 86 p 2

[Article by V. Yarmola, chief of subsection at the Ternopol Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee, under the rubric "Intensive Technology: Experience and Lessons": "The Harvest is Grown by Masters"]

[Excerpt] Ternopol's grain-growers have gathered a good harvest this year. Specifically, they have threshed 43.5 quintals of wheat from every hectare. The oblast's farms have dispatched to the state granaries 571,00 metric tons of grain, thus greatly overfulfilling the plan. [passage omitted]